00196935

00196935

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 11 March, 2020

ON HISTORIOGRAPHY

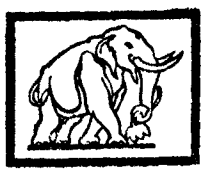
A Study of Methods of Historical Research and Narration of J. N. Sarkar, G. S. Sardesai and P. K. Gode

S. R. TIKEKAR

Foreword by

N. G. CHAPEKAR

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF MUMBAI
TOWN HALL
MUMBAI
400 001.



BOMBAY
POPULAR PRAKASHAN

© S. R. Tilekar

First published
August 1964
Sravan 1886

Printed by
K. K. Gumaste
at Perfecta Printing Works
109-A, Industrial Area
Sion-Matunga Estate
Bombay 22 DD

Published by
G. R. Bhatkal
for Popular Prakashan
35 C Tardeo Road
Bombay 34 WB

Dedicated in Thankful Appreciation to

Babubhai J. Patel

Who as Vice-Chancellor, Vallabh Vidyapeeth
Introduced Me to This New Field
for
Scholastic Expression.

FOREWORD

Shri S. R. Tikekar has presented in this book his studies in the methods of research and the manner of narration of three historians—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dr. G. S. Sardesai and Dr. P. K. Gode. These three scholars were, doubtless, distinguished in their respective spheres of activity: but their subject-matter and methods of research and their manner of narration varied. Sarkar had, truly, the genius of a historian, which he assiduously cultivated and developed; and he spared no pains to train his native gift almost to the point of perfection. Sardesai, on his own admission, became a historian by an accident; but he also applied himself whole-heartedly to his accepted task, and made strenuous efforts to rise to the level of a historian. Both the historians mainly worked on the Mediaeval and Modern periods of Indian History. Gode's field of research, though one of Indian History, had an unfamiliar look about it; and it came to the fore, for him, originally from his desire to reduce the question marks confronting the chronology of Sanskrit authors and their works. While working in this field, there cropped up for him new types of problems, such as the introduction into Indian life of various articles of necessity and luxury, of grains, vegetables and fruits, of writing, etc. Gode toiled industriously and for long on fixing up the dates of that introduction. Shri Tikekar has rendered a useful service to the students of Indian History and Historiography in seeking to clarify the methodological aspects of the researches of these scholars; and we have sincerely to thank him for the same.

My reading of Shri Tikekar's book has, once again, led me to reflect on the fundamentals of the Science and Philosophy of History. I am permitting myself,

incidentally, to note here some of the points which have occurred to me on this as on previous occasions.

What, then, is History? This question has baffled the ingenuity of many a writer of repute. To an ordinary unsophisticated mind, history means a written record of significant past events and happenings.

In pre-historic times the historians embodied whatever they conceived as fit for preservation in the form of a custom, and to ensure its permanence, imparted to that custom a tinge of religion.

A historian records past events, and his mind naturally roams about and lives in days gone by. But time is an unbroken continuity, which we hash up into three imaginative sections as past, present and future. We glibly talk about the 'present'. But is there really any thing like that? Every coming moment is swallowed up by the past. Obviously, the 'present' is some what arbitrary: and there are only two times, the 'past' and the 'future'. The historian is concerned with the past. As regards the future, we can only guess, surmise and prophesy. The 'past', therefore, is a guide for us: and it is history that gives us guidance.

A historian is a registrar of facts which serve as food to him. He is, however, not expected to heed every fact. He has to select facts for his narrating. The historian makes facts meaningful and eloquent; and herein lies his achievement. Indiscriminate display of facts makes a disorderly and confused jumble.

When we say that a historian has to select his facts, we assume, and do so rightly, that there is a purpose behind that selection. For instance, if he wants to write the history of a particular battle, say, the battle of Panipat, he will pick up only such facts as will throw light upon the events connected with that

battle. On the other hand, if he wants to write the cultural history of a people, the facts to be selected for that purpose will, naturally, be of an altogether different kind. (Thus it is that facts relevant to the purposes of Sarkar and Sardesai on the one hand, and of Gode on the other, were altogether different.) This is a basic principle adopted by every historian. Even more than this, the historian must be entirely free from any prejudices or preconceived notions. Very few of our historians, indeed, really come up to this standard; and many of them are influenced by prejudices.

Sometimes it so happens that a particular event or factor within a phenomenon of the past strikes a historian as being of such vital moment to it, that he comes to conceive the whole history of that phenomenon by attaching to it a central and operative significance which it may not have. The statement, sometimes made, that the poet-saints of Maharashtra prepared the ground for Shivaji is an instance in point.

It is strange that hitherto a narration of successive kings and their ambitious aggressions for self-aggrandizement was considered history. May it be remembered that non-humans have no history. The capacity to think, with which man is endowed, gives rise to history. Where there is no thinking, there is no history. If the result of thinking is confined to an individual, the writing takes the form of a biography. Thus history has the element of collectivity and not of individuality.

On the whole, the best historian is one who historicizes to quench his own thirst for pure knowledge; and the historian. who writes at the bidding of another, is not worthy of much consideration.

Facts are the life-spring of a historian. But what is a fact? Fact is anything that exists or has happened: it is, in a sense, reality itself. But fact must be distinguished from truth in history which is a statement or proposition indicated by or inferred from facts. A lawyer, primarily, wants facts, not truth. The issue before the lawyer is to get at facts usable for the establishment of judicial truth. A historian wants facts having a direct bearing for the corroboration of objective truth. An uncorroborated truth may be a surmise or an inference approximating to a highly probable truth. That Shivaji killed Afzalkhan is an inference; and that Afzalkhan lay dead and Shivaji was standing by after embracing him is the corroborating fact.

However intelligent the historian, he cannot be expected to be always on the top of a tree. His intellect grows and expands only with experience and thought. The historian, therefore, has inevitably to revise, repect and modify his own previous views in the light of new research, and his own further reflection. This is illustrated by the continually revised editions of Sarkar's works.

Historical judgment about events is often conditioned by the circumstances of those events. Thus Sarkar's approbatory views, quoted by Shri Tikekar, about the achievements of the Marathas were influenced by the then prevailing circumstances of an all-round submissive and suppliant servitude to Muslim domination. The Marathas alone, under the leadership of Shivaji, and, later, of the Peshwas, succeeded in opposing that domination and in establishing their own *Raj*. Evidently, the Westerners, proud of their superior achievements, were not expected to spare such encomiums for the Marathas. Thus Grant Duff did not write to glorify the Marathas, but, perhaps uncon-

sciously, to justify the British take-over from them. The indication of all this is that the ideal historian must possess, as far as possible, a wide knowledge and sympathetic understanding of facts, an unprejudiced mind and a strong commonsense. In reality, a historian often cannot outgrow and be detached from his own social conditions.

It is a matter of great and perennial regret that we Indians, as a people, lack in historical sense. Babar, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, has left an autobiography: but we do not have any authentic record even of the birth-date of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha *raj*! We have the day to day accounts of the happenings at the Mughal court; but nothing similar or comparable regarding Hindu kingdoms is available! For the exact location of the celebrated Somnath temple, we had to depend on the evidence of Muslim chroniclers. For information of the great University of Nalanda and its magnificent library, we have to depend on our only source, the accounts left by the Chinese travellers, who have kept a wonderful record of whatever they saw in India.

Historical research is a respectable and congenial occupation for the ever wandering mind of man. Sarkar has well compared the function of a historian to that of the stomach, of extracting the nutritive substances and rejecting the unwanted part from the food taken in. I would say that the function of a historian is like that of a weaver, a handloom weaver; facts are his warp and interpretations and inferences his woof, out of which he weaves the fabric of history. And the readers' satisfaction with this fabric is measured by the degree of their agreement with the historian's choice of facts and his interpretations of and his inferences from them. It is, therefore, natural that most of us are not generally satisfied with any single book of his-

tory, on account of the possible variety, in respect of the choice of facts as also interpretations of or inferences from them. It is a fact that historians differ even as clocks or doctors do, motives and objects of their study generally not being identical, although the pursuit of truth is common to all.

To return to Shri Tikekar and his present book: I had my first glimpse of him as a scholar-journalist when I reviewed, about thirty-five years ago, his book on Afghanistan, *Simhala Shaha* ('Checkmate to the (British) Lion'), which reveals many of his rare qualities, then in their nascent development and now in full-blown evidence in his writings. He has studied in the present publication methods of historical research. But he has shown his capacity, elsewhere in his writings, for studying, on a very competent and scholastic level a wide variety of subjects on which he has had occasions, as a journalist, to write.

I am grateful to Shri S. R. Tikekar for giving me this opportunity of being associated, though in an indirect way, with Sarkar, Sardesai and Gode, all three of whom I knew very well and with whom my relations were quite friendly and cordial. I commend this book to all its readers very earnestly and heartily.

Badlapur (Dist. Thana) N. G. Chapekar

1st May 1964

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Kindness of many friends and well wishers has made it possible for me to present this study of methods of historical research and narration of three great historians whom I knew intimately.

At the outset, I must express my debt of gratitude to Shri Babubhai J. Patel. It was he who invited me to Vallabh Vidyanagar to read papers on Sarkar and Sardesai. In fact, he has been the kind task-master of this small project. Dr. A. R. G. Tiwari's appreciation was quite encouraging. Shri M. N. Sardesai, my old friend, gave me good moral support at Vallabh Vidyanagar and Ahmedabad. Prof. G. K. Bhatt proved a sincere guide in more senses than one. He took us to Ahmedabad and explained to me the requirements of the post-graduate students. Shri Jhinabhai Desai, President of the Itihas Mandal (Ahmedabad), Dr. Hariprasad Shastri and Prof. Yashvant Rai Shukla, spoke appreciatively and goaded me to undertake similar studies.

Reading of papers about the methods of historical research and narration of Sir J. N. Sarkar and G. S. Sardesai at Patna and Cuttack had an added significance. Sir Jadunath had worked at both the places, in what later proved to be the beginnings of the Patna and Utkal Universities respectively. Shri N. V. Gadgil, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, (then Governor, Punjab) very kindly arranged reading of my papers at Patna University. Dr. K. K. Datta (now Vice-Chancellor, Magadha University, Gaya) and Prof. S. H. Askari, who accepted Sir Jadunath Sarkar as their Guru, made touching references to my work. Dr. R. S. Sharma and Shri S. V. Sohoni, ICS (now Vice-Chancellor, K. S. Darbhanga Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya) liked the paper about Dr. P. K. Gode.

Dr. P. Parija, the Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, had been a junior contemporary colleague of Sir Jadunath at the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. Although he is a student of science, his respect for the historian was so great that he took the Chair that day and listened carefully to the methods of research of Sarkar. In his summing up, he admitted that he had not known that history could be made so attractive. Dr. H. K. Mahtab cut short his election tour to preside over the reading of paper about Sardesai, whom he had met as the Governor of Bombay. At Nagpur Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi, Prof. B. K. Apte, Shri N. R. Shende and Shri G. G. Joshi were full of kind words for my work.

At Baroda Prof. S. C. Misra, Shri Krishnamurti, Dr. M. R. Majumdar, Prof. B. J. Sandesara and Mrs. S. M. Pagar were appreciative of my work. Dr. O. P. Bhatnagar and Shri M. C. Pant at Allahabad were kind enough to provide an appreciative audience at the University.

At Saugor University, Shri G. P. Bhutt, the Vice-Chancellor, showed great interest and found time to sit through for my reading of two papers. He was kind enough to say that he liked the presentation. Dr. (Mrs.) Bhavalkar, Prof. S. K. Bajpai and Prof. H. L. Gupta encouraged me to undertake similar studies.

Old sages like Nanasaheb (=N. G. Chapekar of Badlapur) are a rare phenomena and I consider myself lucky indeed to have a *Foreword* to this book from him. At 95, his must be considered a marvellous performance, keeping himself abreast of times even on the ever changing aspect of History. To have secured the blessings of such an old and learned sage is in itself a great privilege.

For a book of this sort, the help one gets from Libraries is invaluable. Shri D. N. Marshall of Bom-

bay University Library, Shri Vithal Rao Khobrekar of the Records Office and Shri M. M. Patkar of the Deccan College, Poona, rendered that invaluable help to me. Shri D. B. Sadhale typed the script many times and Bapumama took the trouble of going through the text twice, thrice, making useful suggestions every time. Printers and Publishers of course have their respective share of credit for the attractive appearance of the book. To all these kind and noble souls, I am deeply indebted.

Saraswat Bank Bldg. *S.R.T.*
Bombay 4 BR

16th August 1964

CONTENTS

Foreword by N. G. Chapekar i

Acknowledgements xi

Sir Jadunath Sarkar 1

Dr. G. S. Sardesai 31

Dr. P. K. Gode 50

Bibliography

Index

No. 12.—Palmer describes his interview with the blind Emperor and the condition and policy of Sindhia's officers in Hindustan.

FROM—MAJOR W. PALMER, RESIDENT.

TO—SIR JOHN SHORE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Delhi, 7th May 1795.

At my first audience His Majesty [Shah Alam II] expressed the highest satisfaction at your having directed me to repair to his Darbar, as every instance of the respect and consideration shown to him by the English Government and the Wazir has, in his opinion, a favourable influence on the conduct of those upon whom he is reduced principally to depend for the small portion of dignity or comfort of which he can now form any reasonable expectation.

The suspicious character of the Marathas induces them to hold the King in greater restraint, both political and personal, than is consistent with the views which they are supposed to entertain, of asserting in his name the dormant or obsolete claims of the Mughal Empire upon the Princes and Powers of Hindustan. They do not seem to be aware that by depriving him of the exercise of his will, they furnish an unanswerable objection to their assumption of his authority.

His Majesty neither entertains a hope nor expresses a wish of future political power or independence; all he desires is to be the master of his own family, with such a competent and honourable establishment for his support as the revenue actually collected in his name will admit.

Daulat Rao's army in Hindustan is on the point of marching into Jaipur to compel the Rajah to discharge his arrears of tribute and to disband a new raised corps of regular infantry. There can be little doubt of the Rajah's submission in both articles.

The Sikhs have made no irruptions into the Doab this season, nor is there any appearance that they intend it. I learn indeed that they are confined to their own province by internal dissensions between some of the many chiefs of which the nation consists.

No. 13.—Daulat Rao Sindhia's account of the battle of Kharda.

FROM—DAULAT RAO SINDHIA.

TO—THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Received, 5th May 1795.

I before wrote you an account of a disagreement having occurred between the Peshwa and the Nawab Nizam Ali Khan on various points of a pecuniary

A specimen page from
Poona Residency Correspondence

No. 64] *[27-9-1756*

श्री.

पो. छ १६ जिल्हेज.

राजश्रियाविराजित राजमान्य राजश्री तुबाजीपंत बाजी स्वामींचे सेवेसी पो. गोविंद बल्लाल कृतानेक सां. नमस्कार विनंती उपरी. येथील कुशल ता. आस्वीन शुध त्रितीया जाणून स्वकीये लिहीत असिले पाहिजे विशेष. आपण पत्र पाठविले ते पावले. कुशलवृत कलोन संतोष जाला. तैसेच सदैव पत्री संतोषवीत असावे. आम्ही आपले आसो. या प्रांती वजिरानी बखेडा कराव्याचा विचार केला होता. त्याजवरून आम्ही आगरियाकडे येऊन वजिरांसी सदूक करून माघारे फिरोन इटावेयाकडे आलो. इकडील बंदोबस्त करून देशास जाऊ. वरचेवर आपणास लिहित जाऊ. बहूत काय लिहीणे. कृपा लोभ असो दिजे हे विनंती.

¶Govind Ballal writes about his having settled his differences with th Vazir.

No. 65] *[1-9-1756*

श्री

श्रीमंत राजश्री पंतप्रधान स्वामींचे सेवेशी.

विनंती सेवक जनकोजी सिंदे कृतानेक दंडवत विज्ञापना. सेवकाचे वर्तमान ता छ ५ जिल्हेज मा आवंतिकापुरी स्वामींचे आशिर्वादे येथास्थित असे. विशेष. आज्ञापत्र छ २० सवालचें पाठविलें ते छ १४ जिलकादी पावलें. तेथें आज्ञा, मिरजेहून दरकूच करून खासास्वारी छ २० सवालीं पुणेंग्रामीं दाखल जाली, व तुम्ही कांठे आलां, काय वर्तमान, कधी येणार, हे सविस्तर वृत लिहिणें, म्हणोन आज्ञा. ऐसीयास खासा स्वारी पुण्यास दाखल जाली हें वर्तमान एकोन परम संतोशावानि जाली. आम्ही मो मजकुरी लोकांचे समजाविसीचें कार्य चालीं लाविलें आहे. तीर्थरूप राजश्री काका कोल्याकडे गेले आहेत. तेहि तेथील गुंता सत्वर उरकून येतील. तदनंतर कोल्याकडील सविस्तर वृत्त मागाहून सेवसी लेहून पाठऊं व तीर्थरूप आल्यानंतर येथील गुंता राहिले लोकांचा उरकोन अति सत्वरच स्वामी दर्शनास येतो. सेवशी श्रुत होय हे विज्ञाप्ति.

¶Jankoji Scindia writes to the Peshwa from Ujjain—all in his own hand—that he was soon returning to the South and execute the wishes of the Peshwa to his ... ost

144

A specimen page from
Selections from Peshwa Daftar

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

10 Dec. 1870 — 19 May 1958

Jadunath Sarkar, b. Sat. 10 Dec. 1870
Passed Entrance Exam Jan 1887
F A " Feb 1889
B A " Jan 1891
M A " Nov 1892
P R S Nov 1897

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

SIR Jadunath Sarkar is without doubt the greatest of our historians. He was born in 1870 and he left this mortal world in 1958. During this period he was responsible for bringing out *A History of Aurangzeb* in 5 Vols., *Fall of the Mughal Empire* in 4 Vols., and a biography of Shivaji. There are many more books, every one of them containing solid research and hard work; but even these 10 are enough to show what great industry, what pains-taking research had gone into their making.

JNS wrote volumes of history that entitle him to the highest rank among historians. By making available English translations of rare original papers and documents in Persian and other languages, he has obliged students and future historians. But JNS attracted world attention when he completed the work of William Irvine, ICS, two Volumes of *Later Mughals*. JNS also contributed to the Vol. IV of *Cambridge History of India* where he shines brighter than other contributors by his condensed presentation of the material. His books have run into many editions and every edition is a revised and enlarged one.

A Historiographer who has such a vast and varied output to his credit lends himself easily for a critical study of his methods and the tools he used in this, his life-long pursuit.

It was not a stray chance that JNS happened to study History and chose Aurangzeb as his "hero" from the galaxy of great Mughals.

From English literature JNS turned to History, to Indian History, to the history of Aurangzeb and of Shivaji, of the Fall of the Mughal Empire. Why did he part company with literature and preferred to serve the Muse of History? It seems he had cherished an ambition to be a great Indian historian and we realise in what full measure that ambition was fulfilled.

History being one of the important branches of literature, JNS wanted to utilise his cultivated literary talents in the presentation of historical material. But why Mughal History and why Aurangzeb of all the great Mughal emperors?

While searching for the reason for the choice of Aurangzeb, we would be discovering one of the secrets of the historian's life. His love of minute details, and his insistence on large-scale topographical maps can only be appreciated after scanning his overall output. His first and last publications provide an interesting clue: *India of Aurangzeb, Topography, Statistics and Roads,* was his first book published by the beginning of this Century; while *Military History of India* was his posthumous publication nearly 60 years later. The first book gave the details which normally a military Commander would want for moving into an unknown territory. How came this love of military requirements of factual information for a civil historian?

In his boyhood days, JNS happened to read De Jomini's *Art of War*. It was a text book for military officers and its author was no simple scribe who had donned the uniform. Himself a great man of arms, experienced in the Napoleonic campaigns, Jomini had been the Czar's A D C and head of the Military Academy in the Russian capital. His many books bear the stamp of an authority accepted all over Europe.

For the young mind of JNS Jomini's book proved very impressive. JNS could not dream of becoming an officer inspired by Jomini; he therefore chose the alternative suited to his sedate academic career. He became a War Correspondent of historic battles and studied the many scenes of combat as carefully as a military cadet would do. Hence the graphic and realistic descriptions of the many battles in his volumes; hence also the finale of his life-long work in the description of about a score of well known battles in the *Military History of India*. In the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, fourth Volume, there are 12 such battles so minutely described and in many details, unusual for a civilian writer.

But Why Aurangzeb? Let the Historian speak for himself:—

> Emperor Aurangzeb was free from vice, stupidity and sloth; his intellectual keenness was proverbial.
>
> He took to the business of governing with all the ardour which men usually display in the pursuit of pleasure.
>
> In industry and attention to public affairs, he could not be surpassed by any clerk.
>
> His patience and perseverence were as remarkable as his love for discipline and order.

In private life, he was simple and abstemious like a hermit.

He faced the privation of a campaign or a forced march uncomplainingly.

No terror could daunt his heart; no weakness or pity melt it.

Of the wisdom of the ancients, he was a master....

He had undergone a long and successful probation in war and diplomacy.....

And yet the result of fifty years of rule by such a sovereign was failure and chaos.

Therefore, JNS concludes —

> The political paradox makes Aurangzeb's reign an object of supreme interest to the student of political philosophy no less than to the student of Indian History.

Having made the choice, JNS proceeded to hunt for the tools of research. Aurangzeb was a fanatic Muslim and most of the new material was in Persian. In order to understand the teaching of Islam, and to be able to grasp the meaning of Persian Court etiquette, JNS made a special study of the Holy Quran, of the Persian language and its usage.

But a larger part of Aurangzeb's life was spent in the Deccan, in the Marathi speaking region. As a probationer under Shah Jehan and in his own Imperial capacity later, Aurangzeb spent nearly 40 years in the Deccan. For the study of his movements, for the proper understanding of place and personal names in the Persian and other non-Marathi documents, help of a

Marathi speaking student of Indian History, was necessary. Hence the life-long association with G. S. Sardesai, brought about by G. K. Deodhar in 1904.

The necessity felt of association with a Marathi speaking historian, at least a person interested in reading historical Marathi documents was genuine.. In multi-lingual historical records where mutilation of names was not an exception, but was almost an order in every case, the help of the "local" person was absolutely necessary.

This necessity developed and flowered into a unique friendship which has hardly any parallel in the literary world. For 54 long years JNS & GSS worked in close co-operation and in addition to their own individual output, were jointly responsible for more than 65 volumes of original historical material. Such a fruitful collaboration of two scholars, one from Bengal and the other from Maharashtra, is a part of the achievement of JNS. One of his gifts to Indian History is the making of Sardesai, particularly during the last 30 years of the latter's life.

The method of research followed by JNS in all his books can be summarised in four words: *Cartographs, Identification, Chronology and Corroboration.* For the minute details of topographical description large scale maps and the district gazetteers were essential. In the collection of JNS, now passed on to the National Library, are some of the large scale maps, rarely found elsewhere. It was with the help of such maps that he could identify places and tell the exact location (in the foot-notes). Here are some of the places indicated by him in *Shivaji & His Times:* (6th Edn.)

Dindori: 28 miles S. W. of Chandor;
15 miles N. of Nasik. (p. 176)

Nesari: 45 miles S. of Kolhapur;
1 mile N. of Ghataprabha;
11 miles S. of Garhhinglaj. (p. 196)

Basrur: 12 miles S. of Kundapur in
South Kanara Dist. (p. 231)

Place names have a tendency to over simplify themselves and local variations confuse the stranger. The official maps use the Roman script and Anglicised pronunciation; while the Persian chroniclers used the Arabic script for their Persianised way of saying the Indian names. Imperfections of both the scripts, not to say any thing about their way of saying Indian names, posed complicated problems to the research student. *Varanasi* today, (also pronounced as Baranasi) is known as Benares and Kashi. To the Buddhist pilgrims it is Sarnath. How can any one without the full knowledge of the local variations say that the place called by these different names is one and the same?

1

While JNS was trying to locate Prabhavali, GSS told him that Prabhanvalli, Parabholi and Prabhavali, were the names of the same place. Similarly, what JNS had mis-read as *Shankar Bhet* (in Ratnagiri district) was only *Sakharpe*(n). There were many places with the same name and it was difficult to locate the one which suited the context well. British factors were interned at *Songad*. But there were two Songads: one near Baroda and the other near Raigad. The one near Raigad suited the context well.

Persian peculiarities of writing Indian names are explained by JNS himself. *Paithan* on the Godavari in the Deccan, was written as *Patan* and the Goda-

vari was called the river of Patan. In one Persian MS, *Patan* (=Godavari) *Pain* (Ganga) and *Man* are all written alike. In the Maratha country, Godavari, Krishna, Bheema .... ..are all referred to by the local folks as Ganga. But the greater confusion results from the many names of hill forts, which in fact were the centres of administration of the region they commanded. In place of their traditional, simple names, Shivaji introduced grand Sanskritised names which were again changed into Persian when they passed into Mughal hands. Khelna near Kolhapur was known as *Vishalgad;* Rangna as *Prasiddhagad;* Rohida was known as *Vichitragad.* Kondana near Poona was *Sinhgad* and when it passed into Mughal hands, Aurangzeb called it *Baxinda Bux.* Pemgad, Premgad, Bhimgad and Shahgad are the names of one and the same fort in Ahmednagar district. Panhala near Kolhapur is called in Sanskrit PARNAL PARVAT while the Mughals called it Nabi Shah Durg.

Gingee far in the South presents a similar complicated pattern of names. In Tamil it was written as *Sengi* while Marathi writers used the name as *Chandi — Chanji.* Sanskrit papers mention it as *Krishnapur* and the Adilshahi records show it as Bad Shah Bad. Zulfikar Khan called it Nasratgarh in 1698 after his own title and in some chronicles it is called *Singhavaram* or *Simhavaram.*

Traditional names of regions have to be remembered: The Chola-Mandal, (चोल मंडल) which has given us the corruption Coromandel (coast), *Sircars,* Carnatic, Lata Pradesh, Antarvedi, Aparanta, Habsan, Firangan ..... and others are used in many old documents although they are never specifically defined as such.

Cities and towns too had double names: Prayag is known as Allahabad. Nasik was Gulshanabad;

Poona as Muhiabad. Karnavati was the old name of today's Ahmedabad and Bhaganagar of Hyderabad. Here then, we have the difficulties of reading place names in various documents. If the variations are not known, identification becomes difficult and the understanding of historical events suffers to that extent.

Identification of personalities must also be considered an equally difficult task. Emperors had many names, some assumed and others given. Salim was Emperor Jehangir and Aurangzeb called himself Alamgeer. Military officers and administrators had, besides their names, some titles bestowed on them for this or that deed of valour and their official capacity gave them a designation. Unlike European names of royalties, Indian names of Kings did not repeat to the extent of Edward the 7th or Louis the 14th. There were only two Alamgeers and the second Akbar was only a rebel against his father, Aurangzeb. The Nizam of Hyderabad was known as Chin Qilich Khan and Asafjah. The Nizamshah of Ahmednagar was quite distinct from the Nizam of Hyderabad. As they belonged to two different centuries, little confusion is possible. But Nizam (Asafjah) had a son called Nizam Ali and he too is referred to as the Nizam. In addition to the sons and daughters in the direct line, there were other kinds of children.

Among the Marathas too there is enough variation to cause confusion. Although Shahji and Sambhaji are names repeated many times, they do not cause so much confusion as do the "pet names". Peshwa Balaji Bajirao was known as Nana (saheb) and his brother who led the grand Maratha army at Panipat as Bhau. Nana Fadnis confuses most as his official name was Balaji Janardan Bhanu. There have been two Baji Raos and two Madhav Raos, among the Peshwas,

although the second Madhav Rao is known as *Sawai* Madhav Rao.

Madanna, known also as Madanpant was in fact Surya Prakash Rao. Govindpant Bundela was no relation of Chhatrasal Bundela; he belonged to the Kher family and was also called Sagar wala (=Sagar kar) before being dubbed as Bundela, because of his assignments in that region. Anupgir Gosavi was also known as Himmat Bahadar; many others had the same title (from different royalties perhaps) but they were also referred to as Himmat Bahadars and one had to be precise in identifying the proper person.

In Marathi documents, the exact names of the persons are seldom used. Shahji was for some time referred to as *Raje* and when Adilshahi conferred on him the title, he was called *Maharaja*. *Chhatrapati* is the term used to denote the successors of Shivaji; Shrimant as implying the Peshwa in office. Nana Fadnis was called the Karbhari and Mahadji Scindhia, the Patil Bava.

Another type of simplification of names may be called their Indianisation, and it became more perplexing when Western (European) names were given Indian garb. *Indrasen* for instance was *Anderson* as

Maddock was turned into *Manduk;*

Meadows was given the form of *Manjus* and

Rodrigues was made to appear *Rudrak.*

Moosa Naran was also read as Moosa Jaraj but he was Mons. Noronha. No wonder then if *Ras lampat* was originally Ross Lambert, and Cavendish became the *Ghamandi* even as *Kilkapadri* was twisted from Kirkpatric. Warren Hastings became *Ishtin* as *Ishtur Phakda* was no other than Col. Stuart. The names of

many races from Europe had similarly been Indianised to a great extent and it would be necessary to know their forms. Topikar was a general term for the wearers of the hat and Topi; but it was generally given to Britishers; they were also referred to as *Tamras* meaning red-face wallas. The French were the *Farasis*, the Portuguese were called the *Firanghees* and the Dutch *Valandej*.

2

Chronology : Of the period he was studying, JNS was in the habit of making a detailed chronology. Such a chronology helps the student as nothing else to clarify the movements of the person whose life is being studied. The gaps in the course of the story as also in the material available are easily detected.

On the strength of the chronologies prepared by himself, JNS could definitely say whether the particular person was present on this or that occasion or not. When the point arose whether Shahji was present at the battle of Bhatavdi (1624) or not, he asserted that Shahji could not be at Bhatavdi as he was at the same time located some where in the South. Similarly, he could declare, against the popular supposition of the time, that the meeting between Shivaji and Aurangzeb took place at Agra and not at Delhi, on the basis of the imperial movements which were settled in his Chronology. JNS could on the strength of his chronology finally fix up the details of the return journey of Shivaji from Agra. Again contrary to public belief, Shivaji took only 25 days to reach his home fort, Rajgad: on 19th Aug. 1666 he escaped from Agra and on 12th Sept. he was back in Rajgad.

An additional advantage of the Chronology is of seeing the personalities and their exploits in proper focus. When we know that Shivaji was in his early thirties when he met Afzal Khan, the daring achievement has an altogether different colouring. Janakoji Scindia undertook campaigning in the North before he was 16. When Vishwas Rao died a hero's death on the field of Panipat, he was within his teens. Raghoba crossed the Indus at Attock before he was 25. Bhau, brother of the Peshwa who was in overall command of the Panipat forces, ranging more than two hundred thousand horse and foot and mounted gun, was barely 31. Such revelations of chronology make the heroism the more glorious and add lustre to the valour of the youth.

But Chronology, rightly called the backbone of history, is in India an extremely complicated problem, first because of the many calendars in vogue, and secondly because of the many variations in the method of reckoning the day and the year. Many documents bear no date at all and determining it is a sort of a challenge to the research student. In some records, the Regnum Years are mentioned as 10th year of Akbar's rule or 18th year of Aurangzeb's reign. The Islamic dates are of two types: solar and lunar. Birthdays of the emperors, were celebrated according to both the solar and lunar calendars, although the Darbar was held only once. Julus years, Suhur San, Fasli years, Hijri .... are some of the ways in which Islamic years are mentioned. On the Hindu side, the Vikram, Shaka, Kalachuri, Rajyabhishek, are some of the important eras and the regional variations: the Malabari, Bengali, Kataki, Nepali (Newari) .... and the like.

The day according to Hindu calendar begins with the rising of the sun, even though the *tithi* is depen-

dant on the phase of the moon. In some Islamic calendars rising of the moon *(=the setting of the sun) marks the beginning of the day.* Therefore what we generally call *Wednesday evening*, is according to them, *Thursday evening*. This seems to be a remnant of the ancient Semitic calendar. Witness for instance the 'Xmas Eve, New Year's Eve.....and similar observations. For the lunar Hindu calculations there are two fortnights, the bright and the dark: *Shukla* and *Krishna*. Some of the northern regions, have the month consisting of the dark fortnight, followed by the bright one. The northern month ends on the full moon day *(Pournimant)* instead of ending on the Amavasya *(Amant)*, thus for one fortnight, of both the calendars, the name of the month remains the same. This difference of calendars followed by the writer is no where clearly mentioned. In the *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 2, for a report from Jaipur, the date given was *Poush Vadya 12* (p. 52). JNS could easily say that this was according to Northern calendar which was *Margashirsh Vadya 12* according to the Southern way of reckoning. The way in which JNS arrived at this calculation speaks of the master's minute eye for details and accuracy.

> Poush Vadya 12 acc: to Southern calendar is 13th Jan. 1751; this is impossible, asserted JNS, as Ishwari Singh (whose suicide is reported in that document) died on Dec. 12th 1750. Therefore Paush Vadya is according to Northern way of reckoning. That is Margashirsha Vadya 12=*14th Dec. 1750.*

For one of the letters in *Selections from Peshwa Daftar,* (No. 27 Letter No. 18) the date given was *19th Feb. 1748.* On the strength of his *Chronology,* JNS could definitely say it was wrong. It mentions

Amir Khan as busy somewhere and that Amir Khan was murdered on 25th Dec. 1746.

In the Hindu calendar, there are two or three different beginnings of the year, in Chaitra, in Karttik and sometimes in Poush, on the Makara Sankranti day. The cycle of 60 years is helpful in deciding the year, if the name of the year is mentioned. It is generally the practice of Marathi writers, to mention the date and the month, and reference to year whenever it is there, by the name. A lot of research with the help of ready reckoners, goes on to arrive at a correct date. Even in the Gregorian calendar, an adjustment of 10 days was made in 1582, among the Roman Catholic countries while England corrected its calender in 1752 by an act of Parliament, and fell in line with other countries.

JNS has appended this note to his Chronology of Shivaji:

> All the dates in this book are given in the Old Style or unreformed calendar which continued in use in England down to 1752. The New Style dates (usually *ten* days *later* for Shivaji's life-time) which occur in the French, Portuguese and Dutch writings, have been reduced by me to the Old Style.

Here also as every where, JNS did not forget to mention what ready-reckoner, or conversion tables, he followed. "I have followed the conversion tables in Swami Kannu Pilai's *Indian Ephemeris*."

3

After Chronology, Corroboration. JNS always depended on many sources for description of a single

event. By comparing the many versions, in as many languages perhaps, he could arrive at a more reliable and factual account. And what was more he never made a secret of what sources he used. Thus for Shivaji's night attack on Shaista Khan in Poona (1663) the sources given are :

1 Factory records : (Vol. 103, Surat)

Gyffard to Surat 12th April
24th May

2 Bernier's *Travels* — p. 187

3 *Alamgir-nama* 819 (only one sentence)

4 Manucci's *Storia*, ii, 104-06

5 Sabhasad : 35-37

6 *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* : 44-46
(Bhimsen Burhanpuri)

7 Khafi Khan : ii — 172-75 (narrates the story as told by his father who was serving Shaista Khan; but wrote after 1730)

8 *Jedhe Shakavali*

9 *91 Qalmi Bakhar* — 46-47

For this incident, 9 authorities are consulted. The editorial note attached to Khafi Khan's statement is valuable. Although the memoirs of his father who was in the service of Shaista Khan are narrated by Khafi Khan, the time factor of the writing is important. It was written in 1730, more than 66 years after the event. The suggestion therefore is that the narrator, i.e. Khafi Khan's father, though a contemporary eye-witness, is losing some of his importance, because the narration was put on paper only in 1730. Such a critical appraisal was necessary because of the

Historian's love for truth, for nothing but the bare truth.

Similarly for the daring and dramatic escape of Shivaji from Agra, JNS has quoted :—

1 *Alamgir-nama* 971 (one sentence only)

2 Bernier's *Travels* 190 „

3 Manucci's *Storia,* ii. 139-40

4 Sabhasad : 52-55

5 Khafi Khan : ii, 198-201; 217-220 (most detailed)

6 *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* : 59-61

7 *91 Qalmi Bakhar* : 55-56

8 Frayer's *Account of East Asia* ii, 65

9 Jaipur Records — Fullest.

It is here that the helpful habit is clearly seen. In case, some one were to study the episode at first hand, JNS has obliged him by providing all the details. Mere authors or their books or MSS are not mentioned; the edition used, folio No. in case of MSS, and page numbers of printed volumes are carefully quoted. The immense help of such methodical citation of authorities must be considered a valuable gift of JNS to the students of history.

Not content with citation of authorities at the end of each important episode, JNS was in the habit of referring to his authorities at the end of each paragraph. Here too he quoted the authority in clear terms, without leaving any doubt about it to an enquiring mind. When he quotes from *Haft Anjuman,* (by Udiraj) he mentions which MSS has been used : either the *Benares*

or the *Paris;* the folio number is then given and the two sides are described as *a* or *b*.

Thus *H. A.; Ben, M.S. 84 b* (on p. 130 Shivaji) refers to the Benares MS of *Haft Anjuman*, the second side of folio 84.

For the invasion of Bijapur by Shivaji, *Haft Anjuman* is quoted at length and from many folios; but all that has been clearly stated. As many as 14 folio numbers are given in one footnote.

The way in which JNS used to weave his story of historical narration, out of tangled bits of thread supplied by the multi-lingual sources is seen in writing about Jai Sinh's anxieties when the Rajput Prince was sent against Shivaji in 1665. JNS declares: (p. 105 *Shivaji).*

> My account of this war (Jai Sinh's campaign against Shivaji) is based upon Jai Sinh's copious letters (=*Haft Anjuman*, Benares and Paris MSS. with a few extra letters in *Faiyaaz-ul-Qawanin*), Aurangzeb's letters (given in Paris MS Supplement, 476, with two stray letters in a miscellaneous Delhi MS) and certain other letters given in *Khatut-i-Shivaji* (RAS. MS).
>
> *Alamgir-Nama* 887-907, though contemporary and authentic has no independent value after the use of the above materials. *Storia,* ii, 120-25; 132-37 gives Manucci's personal experience of the war.

Another instance of how the different sources are carefully and cleverly sifted for the correct compilation of the story is about Netaji Palkar's account. This right hand man of Shivaji, verily his deputy, deserted the master and what was worse, like Sambhaji, (12 years later) joined the Mughals (in 1666). Aurangzeb

jumped at this opportunity; and Netaji was first made Muhammad Quli and a mansab granted to him. Even his wife and other relations were converted. Netaji was appointed to the Army at Kabul. Later in 1676, Shivaji had him reconverted. Netaji became a Hindu, after performing expiatory rites.

The story is intriguing on the face of it and as yet, exact details are not known. What, however, JNS could narrate of it is after getting a bit here and another bit there from the many sources. He narrates all this with the help of documents, translation of which he has published in the *House of Shivaji* (3rd Ed.). Here the marshalling of facts, rejecting one narration and preferring another, has been cleverly done with great skill.

JNS sought corroboration for his facts at all possible places. But nowhere does he seem to be losing sight of the practical limitations of the source material. He does not follow a single authority blindly. He critically appraises the statement; verifies it; thinks about its feasibility and then uses it with great caution. When he is reconstructing any story, on bits of information collected from various sources, he puts all that matter in an *Appendix* to the Chapter. Thus for *Shivaji and His Times*, there are four such Appendixes to the four Chapters: on the Mores of Javli, on Afzal Khan, on the first sack of Surat and on Shivaji's return from Agra.

The details about Mores were not available and there was confusion about personalities. *Chandra Rao* was a title of the family and besides his own name, every successor to the Estate, was called Chandra Rao. Hence the confusion. The Afzal Khan affair was bound to be controversial and an authoritative interpretation of the entire episode was necessary. About the first

sack of Surat, an eye-witness account by Anthony Smith has been discussed. Some one tried to discredit Smith on the ground that he had injured the East India Company's interest, during his captivity in Maratha Camp. JNS requested the Librarian at India Office to find out Smith's position after the Surat incident. It was known that for three years after the sack of Surat, Smith was in the service of the Company. Therefore, concludes JNS, that Smith had not harmed the interests of the Company. The atrocities Smith reported from the Maratha camp (after the Mughal attempt to murder Shivaji) were a reprisal and "such atrocities are inevitable in the sack of cities". In support of Smith's report, another eye-witness account of the sack by Rustom Manekji, is cited in the Appendix. The fourth appendix is about the return home of Shivaji from his internment in Agra, based on the factual reports, quoting the current notions about the journey. The beliefs held by the people, the stories that had become legends, had to be narrated and declared as not true. That has been done in the Appendix. Here JNS has taken an opportunity to scan some of the entries in the *Jedhe Shakavali*, an important chronology found in the family papers of Jedhes. Wrong dates and wrong facts are so clearly stated here with proper authorities that the method of sifting becomes quite patent.

The caution with which JNS treated the Factory Records and other documents that came to him is fully justified. In fact, critical evaluation of every document is a preliminary process of research as many forgeries in this respect have come to light.

The Factory Records were not *records* in the sense of the term as we understand it today. They were for major part, a day to day report of the bazaar-gossip that came to the various factors in the course of their

business. The Factories of those days were not Factories; nothing was manufactured there; they were just godowns in today's terminology. The records too were just "reports" sent out from the keepers of the godowns. The factors were sending reports of whatever they heard, whatever was being talked about to Surat, to Bombay and to London. Such factory records therefore need not be taken seriously; they had their limitations. An incident like the death of Shivaji has been reported by the factors at Surat and Bombay (depending on Dutch and Portuguese sources) *four years earlier* in 1676. The death was reported to London also, although it is said that Bombay did not believe the report. Parsi and Shenvi Vakils of Bombay reported that they had seen Shivaji alive on 26th April 1676. Thus the previous report was contradicted.

The Persian documents too were not free from such gossip. The partiality of the writers here was seen more in remaining silent over episodes which were not complimentary to the Imperial prestige. Thus the raid on Shaista Khan or the escape of Shivaji from Agra, have been reported in only one sentence as observed by JNS.

The Records of the missionaries had to be critically examined before accepting. As the factors were here for trade, the missionaries too had their own motive in dealing with the local population. Their glasses in looking at Indians, in treating them, were coloured to the extent of their self-interest. Allowance for such interested attitude had to be made from the records left by them and JNS was fully aware of this element of correction necessary, in every paper he handled.

About Marathi records, particularly the *Bakhars*, JNS sounded a bit harsh in the beginning. As *Bakhars* were the only written history of the Marathas before

history was written in modern times, they were accepted in Maharashtra without any critical examination. But JNS used his X-ray treatment for the *Bakhars* and at once declared without any reserve that most of them were bogus. Of course ample proofs have been offered to justify this outright rejection. Yet, JNS has quoted from Sabhasad and *91 Qalmi Bakhar* as, in his opinion, these two have some elements of truth and that they are not as late as the rest were.

From the comparative study of the many documents, after critical examination of each of them, JNS could almost instinctively narrate as complete a story as was possible. When portions of it were re-constructed by him, he made no secret of it. He clearly mentioned that he has re-constructed it. He also was frank enough to admit what materials he used for his re-construction. A historian has to re-construct episodes when gaps in the continuous narration are noticed. With the help of the Chronology, it was possible to detect these gaps. In his search for original documents then, he used to concentrate on securing those which would reduce the intervening gaps.

How the search of MSS and other material was carried on by JNS throughout his life must be considered a romance of historical pursuit. His own report of the find of *Haft Anjuman* is quite thrilling. How he collected the material he wanted from the world's archives, from Paris, from London, and from private and state collections in India, would indeed fill a volume. Even for the Marathi papers, Mahadji's letters, that had been secretly printed and the originals of which have not yet been traced, JNS worked very hard. He and Sardesai, were engaged in this task for many years. And when they were successful in getting copies of the printed letters, what did they do?

They persuaded the Gwalior Durbar to print the letters in one volume, ably edited by Sardesai and had it put on the market for a cheap price—over 900 pages in print containing 608 letters—at Rs. 2-4-0 only.

In narrating the results of historical research, JNS took extreme care. He used to read and read again what he had written. He was always striving for bettering his expression. Pondering over the problem or wanting to decide how he should begin a fresh chapter, how he should end another, he used to spend hours in his garden, with the majestic Kanchanjunga facing him, at Darjeeling in his house. He could begin writing at any hour of the day or night for that matter. Under his pillow, a pencil and some papers were always kept handy.

How did the historian present the fruit of his careful research ? JNS was a master of good English and his style quite impressive and attractive. He paid great attention to his expression. That is why reading any passage from his books is a feast even if the subject matter may not be to one's liking. JNS was indeed a polyglot. He knew many languages for his purpose of making sense out of the documents that he had to handle. Persian on which he depended so much, was not his second language in school or college. He learnt it later by himself with the help of a Munshi. Marathi was not known to him, although the Devanagari script was familiar. When richness of the Portuguese material was revealed, he started learning it at 60 according to Chevalier Pissurlencar. French he could read and write.

But the way in which he read Marathi, the way in which he could understand the fineries of the language must be considered a marvel. It was not only reading of Marathi historical prose. Of Marathi

poetry, he had read the works of its masters like Tukaram and Ramdas to be able to quote from them appropriately. He could also detect the possible mistakes of Modi reading. Modi being the cursive script of Marathi, in which most of the historical documents were written.

But a historiographer has to have sympathy and understanding as his cardinal virtues even as the high regard for truth and impartiality. It is not every one who can sympathise with the people of Maharashtra. At present when "emotional integration" is being talked of every where, adequate understanding between the many peoples constituting the Indian Union is a rarity, even at the highest official level. It is therefore a matter of supreme satisfaction that JNS, from far off Bengal, brought up on stories narrated in the *Maharashtra Puran*, could turn out to be the most authoritative biographer of our Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. When JNS says, in first person singular

> "I regard Shivaji as the last great constructive genius and nation builder that the Hindu race has produced"

he is paying the highest honour to Shivaji on behalf of India.

When JNS analyses the greatness of Shivaji, he shows complete understanding of the people amongst whom the hero grew.

> "Shivaji was the first to challenge Bijapur and Delhi and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders in war. . . . He founded a state and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments."

JNS has pronounced a historian's judgment on Maratha mind and its make up, again with sympathetic understanding, rare even among Marathas themselves :

> "Marathas have a historic advantage of unique importance in the India of today. Their near ancestors had faced death in a hundred battle fields, had led armies and debated in the chamber of diplomacy; they had managed the finances of kingdoms and grappled with the problems of empire; they had helped to make Indian history in the immediate and not yet forgotten past."

Few observers have that sense of understanding of the merits of Maharashtrian society. JNS declares

> "No other Indian race has produced such a galaxy of leaders in war and learning as Maratha history records."

Here's another aspect of Maratha character underlined

> "Maharashtra's noblest sons have shown in every field of human endeavour, a marvellous persistency and earnest lifelong devotion to patriotic ideals, and not in political agitation merely."

About the people of Maharashtra, JNS remarks, that among them,

> "there is a wonderful diffused sense of democratic equality and self-respect which can make them the best nationals of free India".

About the roughness of the Marathi language, JNS says:

> "The democratic temper of the Maratha people is seen by their having no respectable mode of address like *aap* of Northern India; all ranks are "*theed* and *thoued*".

Here is a piece of conversation at Agra between Shivaji and Ramsingh, son of Mirza Raja Jaising. This

is of course after the audience with the Emperor Aurangzeb at Agra.

> "You have seen; your father has seen and your Padshah has seen what sort of man I am; and yet you have wilfully made me stand up so long; I cast off your mansab."

Of Peshwa Baji Rao JNS observes:—

> At the age of 19, Baji Rao I, was a younger Prime Minister than William Pitt the Younger. And he was spared only for 20 years more Twenty years spent in breathless activity and tireless journeys across the Indian Continent, from Delhi to Seringpatam and Gujarat to Hyderabad, wore out the most wonderful man of action that the Hindu race produced since the days of the great Shivaji ... Shahu used to say of Bajirao ... If I were offered the choice between one lac of troops on the one hand and Baji Rao alone on the other, I should prefer Baji Rao.

The style of JNS however, has many faces and it rises to the occasion, whatever it may be. Introducing Mahadji Scindia, he remarks:

> During Mahadji's absence from Maharashtra his fame had filled the country. A generation had grown up from boyhood to manhood in the southern land who were eager to see the face of the man who had made the Maratha name great as never before. His home coming reminded men of the tales they had heard from their grandfathers of the splendour and national exultation at Baji Rao I's return to Poona after humbling Asaf Jah (the Nizam) at Bhopal (1738) or Chimaji Apa's triumphal entry after the conquest of Malwa (1729).

> But Sindhia had raised the Maratha state to greater heights than those two military conquerors could do. They had brought back only treasure and trophies; he had created a Maratha Empire; he had made the Peshwa the dictator of the Mughal Empire !

Is there any one who will not be charmed by such an enchanting prose?

Nana Phadnis is referred to as *Chitpavan Machiavelli*, "the spider spinning his web sitting at Poona".

Referring to the Maratha character JNS says:

> The vast middle class of modern Maharashtra have no superior and hardly any equal among the other races of India. Would that, they also possessed the organising skill, the spirit of team work, the tact in the management of instruments and colleagues, the foresight and the saving common-sense of the Anglo-Saxon race !

The historian's prophetic judgement is expressed in apt terms about the British administration:

> Indeed the intellectual and moral re-generation of India will be remembered as the greatest glory of British Imperialism. Such a renaissance has not been seen any where."

> " The peculiarity of the British rule was that it was possible for an Indian to be in a minority of one, in his opinions and practices, and yet remain in society."

Many instances of the brilliance of style, catchy expressions and wise judgement could be cited.

These are adequate proofs, if at all they were needed, of sympathy and understanding JNS showed for Marathas. Only on one occasion, after the disaster of Panipat his sympathies are seen to be more with

Abdali and less with the Marathas. It is not easy to understand this attitude.

Having collected all the material, having prepared his own brief, the historian wrote his volumes one after another. The function of a historian, according to JNS was :—

> Writing a history that will live requires not only mere industry in collecting materials, but what is far higher, extensive reading, power of deep thinking and connecting together the near and the distant (by way of comparison).
>
> A true historian's function is that of the stomach in digesting and extracting the vital juice from the raw food stuff passed down the throat.

This advice JNS gave to Sardesai. On another occasion, he wrote about the presentation of the material:—

> "Don't crowd your canvas by going into details about countless minor dynasties; either omit or dismiss them with a bare mention. Try to lay your emphasis on the great dynasties and only on the great personages in them-and give reflection on the characteristics of the periods, culture and great characters and their influence on the life and society, so as to have a clear impression on the reader and to make the presentation memorable."

In presenting the fruit of his research, in narrating a story in particular, JNS was in the habit of drawing attention to similar incidents in other parts of India or any where. While writing about Jijabai, mother of Shivaji Chhatrapati, JNS has made a reference to Gautami, mother of Satakarni (of the same country born 15 centuries earlier!) In Agra Darbar, Shivaji was made to stand behind Yashvant Sinh &

Shivaji shouted : "Yashvant Sinh whose back my soldiers have seen." Here JNS draws attention to a similar episode of 1815, when as the Duke of Wellington entered the royal court of Louis the 18th, the French Marshalls turned their backs, pretending not to see the British General. Louis apologised to the Duke for his Generals' rudeness; but the British hero was unperturbed: "It is by their back that I have generally known the Marshalls" he said.

Translations of some of the important MSS secured by JNS would fill many a bulky volume. In such a translation, he prescribed by his own work, a useful method. First, the folio No. was mentioned; the original date was corrected to corresponding English (Gregorian) calendar and was given in square brackets. In fact, all added material by the translator/editor was put in square brackets to distinguish it from the original text. There are at places observations as *"Untrue"* or a *"Wrong date"* and the like in his translations.

Of the methods JNS introduced, in the printing of historical material some striking instances must be given. For *Selections from Peshwa Daftar,* the format of how each letter was to be arranged and how it was to be presented, all had been decided by JNS. Of the *Poona Residency Correspondence,* 15 volumes have been printed, containing in all 4159 letters in English, extending to nearly 7200 pages. But they are all on a previously arranged uniform model; the contents, the chronology, the indexes and the types chosen .. all have been planned by JNS. Many editors from outside were asked to edit those volumes; but whoever the Editor, the format and arrangement remained. There was no necessity of changing it; it was found to be so very useful throughout the many years over which the work extended. Such foresight, such faultless planning

and such wise decision .. all were possible only in the case of JNS.

JNS had the unique gift of high imagination. He could imagine every event about which he was writing, as if the whole scene was passing before his eyes. And it was not only the main persons moving about. Like a careful cinema-director, his imaginery pictures would be correct to the smallest detail. He would tell you at a moment's notice how the Durbar of Aurangzeb was arranged when Shivaji went there. He was so sure, that he would describe the men to his right, to his left, to his back and in front. The entire scene was, as it were, being enacted before his eyes; and he was such a powerful painter in words that he could re-create the same scene for his readers. That is how his battles are so forcefully, so realistically described. No other Indian historian had that gift.

One of the reasons why JNS outstrips all other historians is this quality of seeing the past without any flaw. The great secret of JNS hard work was his unflinching devotion to the task undertaken. He would refuse to see any visitors as the talk would disturb his thinking. As an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, as a Knight and a C.I.E., he would have received, in the normal routine many invitations to this party or that social. Perhaps he was the only Knight who had absented himself from most functions at the Government House. Such gatherings were nothing but waste of valuable time to him and disturbance in his thought.

Stories of how he shortened social calls are narrated. Three minutes were more than enough for a normal, appointed meeting. He would walk in watch in hand. With sincere students however, he would spend some more time. During his long career at Cuttack

and Patna, we are told on good authority, no visitor crossed his threshold twice. Such a social boycott, self-imposed though it was, was after all responsible for such an amount of work, of a high standard.

JNS paid special attention to the rising generation of students. He sincerely wanted the tribe of historians, research students in history, to grow. He knew very well that not every one was interested in the study of history. He also knew the limitations of the teachers and their relations with the students. But he himself insisted on encouraging interest in history and historical research. It is a proud record that he has left behind: many students whom he himself had trained during his life time, have now almost retired or are on the verge of retirement. They are scattered all over India and they have in their turn, trained their own band of students.

And how did he treat his students? The students were more than his own sons to him. He inspired them; directed and goaded them to undertake new research; helped them getting their work published and arranged for getting it widely accepted.

That is why he could have in Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau, the dearest of his pupils. This heir-apparent of an old Central Indian state was persuaded to build a far better library than JNS's own. In Sitamau, in Malwa there is an extremely valuable library with copies of original source material from the world's libraries and archieves. It is without a peer in the world, to use the words of JNS from his Introduction to the printed catalogue of this unique library. The catalogue has gone into 2nd edition and it is on sale at book-sellers.

JNS did not build up only his pupils. He built up his only friend Sardesai also. For 54 long years

they remained friends and their co-operative output, in addition to their individual production, is Himalayan by any standard.

In one of his essays JNS has published the legacy left by Shivaji and has given a detailed list of all sorts of things that were left by the Chhatrapati. If we were to find out what legacy JNS has left to us, we need not make the list long. The collections at the National Library and at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad come first while his books and the methods he has used in those books, second. Dr. Raghubir Sinh with his grand library, Sardesai and other students trained by JNS are the third item, and here it ends. Even these three items are of limitless value. The estate we inherit from JNS will not perish with age. It is a far more lasting legacy than any material wealth. That is why a historian is considered a greater Guru; for he teaches not to one class or at one college. He is the teacher to unknown generations of students every where. He has no retiring age and even though he be physically absent, he goes on teaching through his books. To such a greater Guru, to the doyen among our historians, to JNS, we would ever remain grateful.

DR. G. S. SARDESAI

17 May 1865 — 29 Nov. 1959

Marks Whether it needs any
further revision before being
sent to Press.

Sam
Yours sincerely
G. S. Sardesai

DR. G. S. SARDESAI

ONE of the strange accidents of history is the fact that GSS became a historian without wanting to be one, without having prepared himself for it, without having any desire to be so known. As a tutor to the royal sons and daughters and their companions, GSS had prepared some notes on Indian History and at that time (before the end of the 19th century) Indian History was in fact the History of Muslim invasion and occupation. Those notes of a "royal" teacher, (='teaching history to students of a royal family) were passed on to an enthusiastic publisher and *Musalmani Riyasat* was accidently born; its author was to be known in later life as *Riyasatkar*, author of 2 Vols. of Musalmani, 2 of British and 8 Vols. of Marathi *Riyasats*. Thus in 12 bulky tomes GSS chose to narrate the story of India from the Islamic inroads to the advent of the British rule.

Born in a small village in Ratnagiri district in 1865, GSS was senior to JNS by about five years. He graduated in due course and was immediately employ-

ed by the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda as his 'reader'. From the readership, tutorship to the princely group was but a step in the inner circles of the royal household. Having once entered Baroda State service, GSS continued there till 1925, for nearly 36 long years. During this period, he travelled in the royal retenue to Europe, to many hill stations in India. Such a life, dominated by court intrigue, when the Maharaja himself was not free from the fear of being poisoned himself or his children, a man of confidence had to shoulder more than the normal share of responsibilities. That GSS was such a man in the confidence of Sayaji Rao was obvious. Equally obvious was the fact that the burden of responsibility of the safe conduct of the royal family was weighing heavily on him. Under such circumstances, it is indeed a miracle that GSS could rise to be the greatest Maratha historian.

In the royal entourage, it was not possible for GSS to have even a quiet hour to himself. It was difficult for him to concentrate on his labour of love while staying in the capital at Baroda, or when the Maharaja was present, wherever they were. For, it was the usual practice of the Gaekwar to send for the "Master Saheb" at any hour of the day or night, and say that he be lulled to sleep by a non-stop narration of some story or a stray reading. It was of course a tall order as we would call it today. But GSS had carried out such orders without any resentment. He was too faithful, too loyal to the Maharaja to sulk or grumble. Whatever it was, the court atmosphere was not at all congenial for any serious study and research. Why, even mental peace for a historical narration was not available. That GSS continued under these tense and hypercritical conditions without a blot, without a blemish must be considered a wonderful achievement. The court of the most enlightened of all Indian princes was

hot free from its traditional vicious atmosphere of mutual jealousies, bickerings, back-bitings and heart-burnings and their consequences. Political frownings from the British were added to the already unfriendly atmosphere, after the Coronation Durbar Affair in 1911.

All this is narrated to show that GSS could not have the scholarly peace and quietude to pursue the historian's work which had come to him unsought. Perhaps it may be that he took to this work of history, only to forget the worries and complications of the Durbar mysteries and court intrigues. Whatever it be, Indian History was to be the richer from such a diversion, such an escape achieved by a loyal servant of the Maharaja. It may be said that GSS first took to history but later in his life, history got full possession of him. He had hardly any interest in life other than history or historians.

Throughout all the volumes of GSS, there is ample proof of his having read the vast material that was published by Sane, Rajwade, Parasnis, Khare and others. Their volumes are a mine of information for the period they cover. They are contemporary documents of the times in which the writers moved. And who were these writers? Diplomatic representatives of the Peshwa at Delhi, at Maheshwar, at Seringpatam, at Hyderabad, at Fulcherry (= Pondicherry), in Bundelkhand, in Rohilkhand, in Baghelkhand, in Orissa, in Bengal, in Marwar, in the Punjab — in fact at most of the important places in India. The importance of these papers in writing the history of the period cannot be exaggerated. To be able to read them, to take only the important grain out of a lot of chaff, was by no means an easy task. GSS has so obliged the future generations by presenting a carefully prepared gist of the many volumes of papers, that it is impossi-

ble to study Maratha History without first consulting his volumes. Before his days, there was no Maratha History in Marathi which told the exploits of Shivaji, of Tanaji, of Dhanaji and Santaji, the martyr's death of Sambhaji and the control of Delhi from Poona .... of the many deeds which even today have a magnetic influence on the Maratha mind. GSS therefore deserves the gratitude of the nation. He is the first to write a continuous story, filling 8 bulky volumes, over 3000 pages, from the early life of Shahaji to the downfall of Baji Rao II. And so far he is without a second.

This herculean task was by itself more than a life-time's work for an ordinary person. But GSS achieved some thing more, far more, than this story of the Maratha exploits. He edited 45 volumes of original papers from the *Peshwa Daftar* in Poona. Later on, the Selections from the *Poona Residency Records* were added to that work, and it was distributed amongst five or six selected scholars whom the two General Editors, JNS and GSS knew very well.

Side by side, GSS was busy revising his *Marathi Riyasat,* for what may be called his 3rd edition and the last during his lifetime. Here, instead of judging the period arbitrarily, he followed the biographical chapters; thus Shahaji, Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram ...are the volumes that appeared as the 3rd edition of the *Marathi Riyasat.* That revised work stopped with the murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa in 1774. Only the last two Peshwas, Sawai Madhav Rao and Baji Rao II remained to be revised. All this meant over 2000 pages of Marathi close printing.

That was not the only work that occupied GSS. He has to his credit two Vols. of *Muslamani Riyasat* and other two of the *British Riyasat.* In the first, he narrates the story of the Muslim rule in India,

dynasty by dynasty and in the second, a full account of the British rule in India is told. The *Musalmani Riyasat* went into four editions. All these are in Marathi.

At the Patna University GSS delivered a series of six lectures and they were later published as the *Main Currents of Maratha History.* Three editions of *Main Currents* have been revised by GSS. He edited for the Satara Historical Society, two volumes of unpublished documents. For the Gwalior Darbar, he combined into one bulky volume, about 900 letters, previously distributed over five volumes and secretly printed by Parasnis. For the Gaekwar's Oriental Series, he edited the Sanskrit *Anupurana*, also known as *Shiva Bharata.*

As the crowning piece of his life-long work, GSS rendered into English the *New History of the Marathas* —in three bulky volumes and its second edition is now available. The story which took 8 volumes in Marathi, is condensed in three in English. During the long period of three score years during which GSS was engaged on writing Maratha History, his approach to the problem has undergone a good change. Although he wanted to narrate the continuous story of Maratha achievement, he wrote to JNS (in 1930)

> Till now I proceeded on the idea that I was to point out the good or the bright side of the picture, as the Western writers had sufficiently described the dark side....I will now allow documents to speak rather than impose my views upon the readers.

In 1943 however, GSS clearly realised that the angle of JNS in writing history was not the same as his own. He started entirely from the point of view that the Marathas were an independent entity. In

1948, while bringing out the English edition of the *Marathi Riyasat*, GSS wrote in the introduction....

> "The Marathas have long been misjudged by their rivals and adversaries and painted in the blackest colours both during and after the period of their downfall, as if they had no single good point to their credit. This attitude became confirmed in popular mind owing to the first flush and glow of the foreign conquest. But more than a century has elapsed since the Maratha state was extinguished, a sufficiently long period for the dust of passion to settle down and to enable us to form a sober and rational judgment and to justly appraise the virtues and defects of that race. It is still difficult for a Maratha writer to paint his people's history on a canvas with colours that truly represent facts and avoid prejudices. ..I aspire to produce a true apologia *(Kaifiyat)* of the Maratha people and place it before the impartial public."

But GSS is all humility in his approach. In his Farewell address to the Vol. 3 of the *New History of the Marathas* he says:

> My aim has been....to pour out to the sympathetic reader all that an ordinary son of Maharashtra has thought and felt, as he studied and pondered on the past stories of his country during his life of more than four score years. In spite of the long list of my historical works, I do not claim to be a scholar or even a trained historian, but only an eager, tireless worker. Call this my final work, the table talk of an ardent seeker after knowledge.

And yet GSS remains the only historian Maharashtra has produced so far. This attitude of GSS in writing the history of the Marathas was of great use

to him. His experience at the Gaekwar's court, gave him the necessary background for an adequate understanding of court life, in all its aspects. That was a great merit of GSS and no other historian of his times had such unique opportunity.

Baroda was indeed what may be called a class A State. In many respects, it was far in advance of other (British) Indian territories. The enlightened ruler that Sayati Rao was, helped GSS, unintentionally perhaps, by his close and constant contact to appreciate the mental-make up of an administrator, of a diplomat and a ruler whom the subjects loved as their father, in the traditional manner. For the conduct of War, or for understanding the military operations, the peaceful life in a princely Indian state afforded hardly any occasion for GSS, although all the states had contributed in men and money for the successful conduct of two world wars. By nature too, GSS was not inclined to studying of battles and preparations for them unlike JNS.

Narration of GSS has some very striking features. It is in the first place a complete story, taking note of all the available material—may be only in Marathi—and not ignoring even the legends and anecdotes that had gained currency. In fact, GSS seems to have been enamoured of some of the old expressions as he has used them while presenting the story.

Each volume of his *Riyasat* is generally divided into many chapters, and the chapters are not just numbered. They have apt and catchy titles conveying the nature of the contents. Within the chapter, there are smaller sections serially numbered and each section in its turn has similarly attractive captions. It is these expressions that stand out in the writings of GSS and make the reading enjoyable.

For Shahaji's period, one chapter is styled: *ita Sahji hain-uta Sahajahan.* It is from *Radhamadhava Vilas Champu* and the full verse is worth quoting, not much for its historical qualities but for poetical merits.

> "The Lord of the Universe asked Brahma: Pray, tell me how you have arranged the world. Who are the administrators of the (four) quarters? The reply was: The sun looks after the East while the moon is in charge of the West; O Lord, please continue enjoying your sweet slumbers in the milky ocean. For guarding the North and South, *here's Shahji and there Shah Jehan.*"

Similarly the entire life of Shivaji has been described in ten apt phases by GSS at the beginning of *Shaka Karta Shivaji.* The adjectives

Shaka Karta	Shivaji,
Ugrapakriti	Sambhaji,
Sthira Buddhi	Rajaram,
Punyashloka	Shahu

are quite apt and they have some older authority; they are not just coined by GSS. This sort of link with the traditional lore has a charm of its own and its hold on the reader is great. For the Peshwa too, GSS had some attributes to describe their career and achievement.

GSS received the greatest honour for a historian in India; he presided over the Jaipur session of the Indian History Congress in 1961. The President thought it fit to confer on GSS a Padma Bhushan. Both these honours, surprisingly enough, were not given to JNS.

In all the work GSS did, after retirement from Baroda, JNS was his inspirer, guide if not actual collaborator. There was full co-operation between the

two friends throughout and the opposition they met with, was also directed against both of them, singly in their own capacities as also jointly in their effort to produce this or that volume.

Although JNS consulted GSS on the import of many Marathi documents, the reliance was not absolute. We find the two stalwarts have drawn different conclusions from the same material. In the evaluation of character and achievements of historical personalities the judgements of both the historians are not of the same mind. Ahalyabai Holkar of Indore for instance is strongly criticised by GSS for her wide charities in places of pilgrimage while JNS has asserted with documentary evidence that the greatest support Mahadji Scindia received was from Ahalyabai, without whose help Scindia would not have achieved half of what he did in Delhi. She was not the simple, religious *Mataji,* we consider her to be. JNS asserts that she knew the currents of politics of the day very well.

There were reasons why GSS and JNS were set against the *Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal* of Poona. There were fundamental differences of approach about the *Mandal* and its working. The *Mandal* has a vast collection of historical material, most of it unclassified, unarranged. When some one read a paper about it in the *Mandal,* the practice is to allow no one to use the contents of the paper till the *Mandal* has published it, either in the *Mandal's* quarterly or elsewhere. Students taking notes when papers were being read at a meeting, were stopped from doing so. How to make the *Mandal* realise its duty about the papers it has is a great problem. But it was against this un-reasonable practice that both GSS and JNS revolted. They were told to wait, till the day of publication of certain documents, and not even an inspection of them was permitted. If this were the standard routine

of libraries and archives, it would have been impossible for JNS to obtain photostat and other copies from the world's libraries in his unique collection. But the institution nearer home proved for him a hard nut. Being a life member of the *Mandal* this was a strange attitude to take.

Looking back it seems odd that the two historians working selflessly for historical research should meet opposition from Poona, on behalf of the learned of that place. But none the less it was there, and it is recorded in the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council of 1930.

The main opposition to GSS and JNS working for the Government of Bombay, in bringing out the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, was more against the persons than against their objects. It was contended, that JNS, who could not read *Modi,* should not be considered an authority for publishing records from the Peshwa Daftar. It was a strange argument; but it is held even today. What was JNS doing in the matter of publication of selections? He was only suggesting how the papers would be more useful to students in a wider circle. Hence the necessity of numbering each letter, of putting the date and of adding its summary in English, at the end. Having nothing to complain about the method, the opposition was voiced on a theoretical ground: whether they should have *a handlist, a catalogue* or *a calendar* of the papers in the Peshwa Daftar. Any one familiar with the extent of the Peshwa Daftar, and with the condition of the Marathi records, written in *Modi,* would soon realise the Himalayan and almost insurmountable difficulties in making a hand list, a catalogue or a calendar of the vast correspondence.

Over 27000 *rumals*, with about 500 papers in each *rumal,* constitute the extent of Marathi docu-

ments in the Peshwa Daftar; and there are according to the published handbook, 1.9 *rumals* of Gujarati papers. In old Marathi document, the name of the writer or of the person to whom it is written is generally not given. The date, if at all it is there, is generally in the Islamic era, which must be converted to the corresponding English date. The name of the place from which it is written is conspicuous in most cases by its absence. The work of the editor of such letters becomes so very complicated that wherever possible, only provisional dates, provisional names, from where and from whom the letter originates and to whom it was addressed, have to be given, so that by a cumulative effort of scholars the date and other details could be finalised.

In making the selections, the idea was to make some material available to students. From the handlist, catalogue or the calendar, one would have known that some papers (from whom, for whom, from where being unknown factors), were there in the Daftar. Unless they were first deciphered in the readable Devanagari *(Balbodh)* it would be impossible for the majority of students to know what they contained. A catalogue, a handlist or even a calendar, without any of the details would be quite useless. And what an amount of labour and cost such a work would entail! The British Government at that time was spending Rs. 11,000 only per year on the office that was preparing the material for printing. The new work was undertaken by Government on the specific advice of the Historical Records Commission, on the recommendation of JNS, and in which the Professor of History at the Government Deccan College, Poona, concurred. With such a strong and organised backing Government thought they were on firm ground. But the questions that were asked in the Legislative Council came from those who obvi-

ously were innocent of historical studies. Some of the questions were most unbecoming; there was hardly any point in putting them. For instance, one was about the non-inclusion of a representative of a particular sub-caste in the panel of workers under GSS. Another was about the desirability of printing the selections. But the worst attitude was seen in casting a slur on the integrity and character of GSS. Was he not in the service of the Gaekwars before he undertook the work? Here the insinuation was that the Gaekwar had offended the Imperial dignity at the Delhi Durbar of 1911. Another question was about the capacity of GSS as an author. It was hinted that he had got his "story books" (here was a grand refusal to call them history) written by some one else. Was he not selecting papers as would be useful for his own "story books"? Was he not editing certain papers for the Gwalior Darbar, and was he not paid for that work?

But the pity of the whole affair was that the questions were put by members who were unable to read them in English! On the opposite side, on the treasury benches, was an Englishman, seasoned and trained in the high British traditions of parliamentary democracy. Without being ruffled, without losing temper, the questions were calmly, quietly answered with dignity, with confidence, with firmness, characteristic of a sound administrator. Nothing came out of the fireworks in the legislature. Only the petty mindedness of those that were behind all the uproar on a relatively small matter was exposed.

Owing to financial stringency Government decided to discontinue the work of Peshwa Daftar after first two years of experience. But the combined talent of GSS and JNS was not to lose courage at this official apathy. They got from the Government an assurance to

continue work by collecting donations from private sources for the staff. Henceforth GSS preferred to work in an honorary capacity, and the staff was so arranged that the work of editing and keeping the matter ready for the press could be completed within the period for which the amount had been collected. Printing of the *Selections* would go on as the Government Press found it convenient. Thus 45 Vols. of the Peshwa Daftar, in all 8650 original documents, extending to over 7800 pages, with facsimile blocks of writings of some of the leading personalities, have now been given to the world of learning and scholarship. The work of printing was spread over four years and more—1930-34. The entire set of 45 Vols. was valued at Rs. 116-15-0.

In withstanding all such petty opposition, in ignoring the criticism that appeared in a section of the press and in some odd meetings, JNS showed indomitable courage. He could not be disturbed by such howls. He advised the Government on the one hand of the soundness of the policy they had chalked out. On the other, he was assuring GSS about the ultimate utility and national importance of the editorial work, he had undertaken. The caravan goes on even though the dogs on the roadside bark, was his pet phrase. The nation as a whole had realised the importance of the 45 Vols. of original historical material. Others have seen the futility of the senseless and foolish opposition to a noble work. Whatever be the reasons, it is a fact that the *Mandal* did not get the benefit of JNS and GSS. It is true that the *Mandal* has later put up the portraits of the two giants in historical studies, but the honour and facilities that were their due had been denied to them in their life time. GSS then was not a hero in his own hand, in Poona in particular. There was a sort of a prejudice against him and his work.

One does not know why. Inscrutable seem to be the ways of the intellectual world. GSS was never referred to as either a historian or a research scholar. He was purposely and wilfully referred to as a mere compiler, as if his work was of a lesser degree; as if they, the historians and research students, belonged to a different, to a superior category of privileged men. Till his last days, GSS was addressed to by the Poona group as *Sankalanakar*.

For a better understanding of Poona's refusal to recognise JNS and GSS we have to go back to the days when JNS brought out his first edition of *Shivaji and his Times*. While Maharashtra had not yet produced a biography of its own hero here was an "upstart" from far off Bengal, writing about Shivaji in an impressive and high-flown English. The first reaction of the Maratha mind was to boycott the new biography of Shivaji, and later the boycott was extended to all the books by JNS. What was the grand reason? It was that the upstart historian had referred to Shivaji the Great, as simple *Shiva* throughout his biography in the 1st edition.

While it was becoming the custom to refer to Shivaji as Chhatrapati Shri Shivaji Maharaj, the Bengali writer called him simply "Shiva" as if the great Maratha King was a "domestic servant"! The anger of the common man was thus roused; JNS was charged of disrespect to our national hero. JNS had not used the simple name to offend any one. He depended for the most part on Persian records. And in order to show affectionate intimacy, he preferred to call the hero as Shiva. This method is not confined to one person only. Sambha, Dhana, Santa ... are all forms of names introduced by him, as he found them in the Persian documents. In some of the Marathi ballads too, Shivaji is addressed as Shiva, Sarza Shiva, and Shivba. But all

this was not considered and JNS was completely misunderstood.

As a historian's way of expressing close affinity, that way ought to have been appreciated. JNS would have responded to any criticism, legitimately voiced. But what did the "offended" public opinion do? It was suggested seriously in Marathi newspapers that Sir Jadunath should be referred to as *Jadya!* Childishness could not have been better expressed.

With such a historian who offended Maharashtra, GSS was closely associated. Did he try to persuade JNS from following this offending path? Did he communicate to him the dissatisfaction of the Maratha people and the offending reference to our hero? That was the popular line of argument.

That was not all. JNS was more critical of the Marathi *Bakhars*. On a closer scrutiny, he found them unreliable. What was more, he said so in plain words. At a time when the *Bakhars* were the only available recorded history of the Marathas, when a systematic history was not written in Marathi, this was too strong a blow to the sentiment of the historically minded. Any stick was therefore good enough to beat the offending historian with.

JNS had added fuel to the fire by criticising the Brahmins as against the non-Brahmins. His obsession with them is well known to careful readers. In one sweep therefore, JNS succeeded in offending many people from different strata of Maharashtrian society.

To attack such a powerful personality as JNS in the open on flimsy grounds was not good tactics. So, a point was raised on ground of principles. JNS used to refer to certain information as from a document in his possession. The opponents challenged him to produce the document in original in a facsimile form.

Here was a sting. First, the finding of JNS, or his understanding of the document was questioned. And the responsibility of publishing a document in the procurement of which JNS had spent a lot, was added to that. Even that would have been accepted and met gracefully, had it only been made in a scholarly, in a friendly way. But when it was hurled at him as a challenge, questioning even his reading, JNS was in no mood to oblige. On the contrary, he became purposefully provocative, and the gap between the two groups widened day by day. What a pity, there was no one to bridge it, there was no one to bring about an understanding, in the interest of historical research as such.

The episode of the Poona group versus the two historians has been narrated here at some length for a better understanding of the personalities. The prejudices that had taken a firm root remained there and the cause of historical research suffered. After all, what did JNS or GSS want? Did they want to further their selfish ends? If the Government respected them for their views, there was no point in finding fault with them. If by a sober approach, if without sacrificing any principles, they gained the confidence of the Government and got good work done, what was wrong with that? All sorts of weather make the year; and all sorts of people make the nation. Why then quarrel with personalities?

Be that as it may, this opposition from the Poona group achieved one great thing: the solid friendship of the two historians which has no precedent. For 54 long years, they remained united together and their co-operation proved extremely fruitful. More than 65 Vols. of original historical research, besides their individual output were the direct result of their co-operation. That comes to more than one book per

annum. No other combination of two scholars has been so successful for the public in general. This must be considered a trimuph of personal friendship.

For, JNS and GSS had only each other as friends. Each had no friend than the other. And it was not a friendship of two equals. It was unique in this respect that it was of two different personalities, whose likes, whose dislikes, whose equipment for research and mastery of the subject they studied, could not be considered as of equals. Yet they remained closely attached; no differences of opinion could separate them. While JNS could have done without the help of GSS, it is highly doubtful whether GSS would have been able to achieve whatever he did in later life without the help from JNS. GSS did not even hesitate to express openly the gratitude he owed to JNS. The question then arises: what was the cementing element that bound the two unequals together for such a length of time, through thick and thin? The answer to that question lies in the nobility of JNS. It was he who seems to have made up his mind to provide proper atmosphere and congenial surroundings where the talent of GSS would bloom to the full. While the Poona group was reluctant to call the books of GSS as history, while they had created a special caste of "compiler" for him, here was JNS, a very doyen among Indian historians, famous beyond the seven seas, and therefore the better honoured in India, trying to help GSS, the old sage, to have his due. What did JNS want of GSS? JNS wanted GSS to be a rightful research student, a great historian of the Marathas, in his own right. It was towards this end that he strove all through his life. It is now well known that had it not been for JNS, the work of editing *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* would not have gone to GSS. It was very easy for JNS to take up the work himself.

But the greatness of the great historian lay in the effort he was making so that GSS should get an opportunity to establish himself as a research scholar. To choose to remain behind the scenes, and guide the course of events, and to help his friend to grasp the opportunity of a life-time, was no doubt a nobler task, than adding one more laurel to his own crown. The confidence that GSS acquired in this great storm, was the calculated effect which the foresight and fraternal care of JNS alone had planned. The correspondence that passed between the two during the troubled days, is worthwhile scanning. Rare, very rare indeed are such Jadunaths in the present Kali Yuga; GSS must be considered fortunate in having in JNS the Jadunath of the *Bhagavadgita* to be his wise counsellor, guide and philosopher. JNS protected GSS throughout the stormy periods of their life, and GSS was dependant like a child on JNS's strength, JNS's resources and self-assurance.

The two historians were no doubt great by themselves; but they excelled and became greater by their co-operation. Their individual output is indeed great by any standard. Each became the greater because he joined hands with the other. We respect JNS for taking kindly to Sardesai, for building him up as it were, giving him a new lease of life as a research worker. JNS rises in our estimate for his contribution in getting work out of GSS.

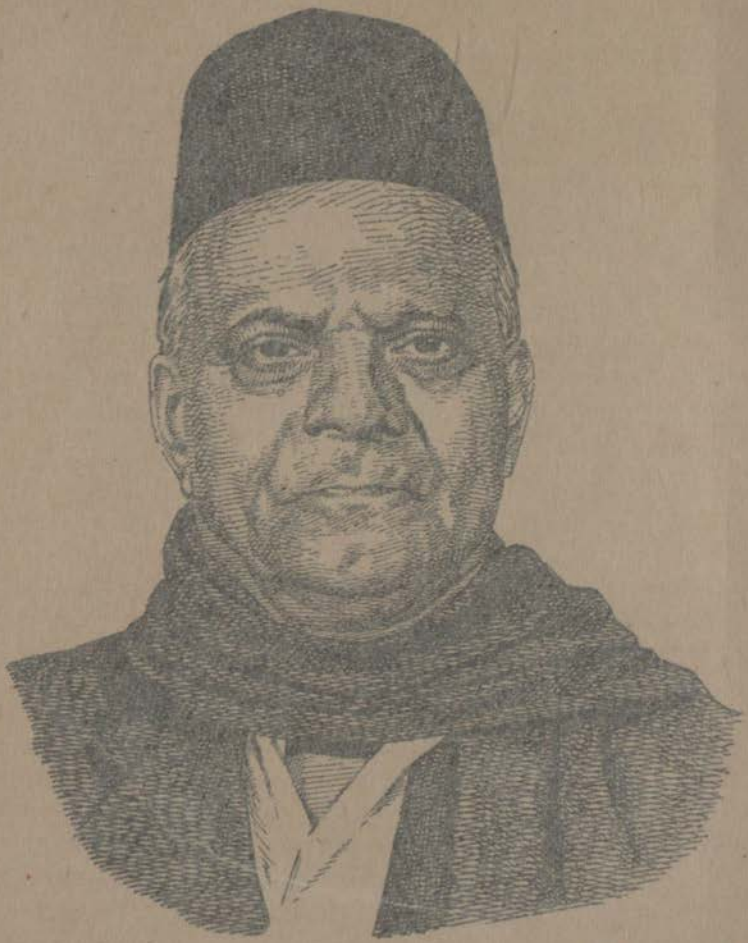
Sardesai on the other hand commands our respect because he kept up the friendship, firm and united. To part company with JNS was for him the easiest thing to do; there were many trying situations, and strong difference of opinions had become vocal. But all this did not stand in the way of their close co-operation for the furtherance of historical research. Single-handed, Sardesai would not have been able to shoulder the

burden that fell to him in the later part of his life. With the active co-operation from JNS, he could rise to the occasion, and both the historians together were responsible for publishing many volumes of original historical material. Such a fruitful friendship has hardly a precedent. Their rare combination has made Indian History very rich indeed. In thus narrating their story my only wish is : may their tribe increase !

DR. P. K. GODE

DR. P. K. Gode, for over 40 years the Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, was a research student of a somewhat different type. He was concerned with history of India no doubt; but not the history of this or that royalty; not of this Nawab or that Sultan. It was in fact the real history of India: a part of the history of our vast Sanskrit literature, a history of Indian life in general; a history of her plants, of her fruits and of the things we use in daily life. Such a research has a far greater importance for social history. Kings may come and kings may go; but the society and its occupations and pastimes have a permanent interest. It was this research that Dr. Gode busied himself with all through his life.

Born in 1891, Gode entered Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in 1919 as Asst. Curator and till the end he was associated with the Institute as its Curator. It is on record that during the 42 odd years that he was serving the Institute, he did not enjoy leave even for 42 days! So continuously and fully was he engrossed in the work he had voluntarily under-



Dr. P. K. Gode

11 July 1891 — 29 May 1960

how to preserve them —
is a perennial diffi-
culty with me

Yours
P.K. Gode

taken. Had he lived for 44 days more, he would have completed the Psalmist's allotted span of three score ten years.

Gode must be called a professional editor, but an editor, again of a different sort. He did not edit any popular magazine as such. His work was confined to learned journals: *Review of Philosophy & Religion*, *New Indian Antiquary* and *Oriental Literary Digest*. Another kind of editorial work kept Gode occupied. It was editing of Commemoration Volumes for:

1 Dr. F. W. Thomas,
2 Sir Denison Ross,
3 Dr. P. V. Kane,
4 Dr. B. C. Law Vols. 1 & 2

All the editorial work was carried out mostly in collaboration with other scholars, particularly with Dr. S. M. Katre.

For B.O.R.I., he compiled catalogues of Sanskrit MSS, Vols.: 12, 13 & 14.

Vol. 12 comprises MSS of *Alankara* and *Sangita;* the 13th has 3 parts, two of *Kavya* (794 MSS) and the third of *Stotra* (1913 MSS). *Natya* MSS, numbering 240, are catalogued in Vol. 14.

By choice and profession Gode had to deal with Sanskrit MSS, heaped up in the B.O.R.I. He was also cataloguing them. In making a list of MSS, the question of the time when the author was living or when the MSS were copied naturally cropped up. But our Pundits, being what they were, hardly mentioned these details. There were some who gave the names of parents. But mostly, silence was their usual practice. While making a catalogue of Sanskrit MSS as also of printed books, there is a constant query about the *date* of the author. In absence of any information

on the point, that query has remained in almost all the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS.

Only one among the band of scholars working in the field of Sanskrit MSS felt that these question marks flung a challenge at him. That silent challenge was not so simple as it looked. It meant diving deep into the unknown or little known past and finding out the hidden secret.

PKG believed that for a comprehensive history of Sanskrit literature, it was absolutely necessary to fix the chronology of many writers and their works. That American Pundit who devoted his life-time to Sanskritic studies, Whitney, said that all dates given in Indian literary history are "pins set up to be bowled down again". He said so because, they were mere conjectures and required to be confirmed or re-examined. Some one, engaged in similar studies said that Indian Chronology was based on doubts and thrived on perplexities.

The importance of chronology to such histories cannot be adequately underlined. It is called the very backbone of history while geography is its eye. And PKG has asserted that "wrong chronology produced wrong history and want of chronology produced no history." Hence the necessity of taking up the challenge of chronology first.

PKG has outlined his idea of the research worker and how he was himself goaded to accept the challenge.

> "The whole *Catalogus Catalogorum* (of Aufrecht) looks like a big sign of interrogation in time and space...."

> "As inheritors of this immense wealth of literary heritage, we would be failing in our duty if we

do not make an organised effort to reduce the sign of interrogation if not remove it altogether in the years to come."

"My approach has been strictly realistic. I have tried to record detailed references to the books and manuscripts used by me so that future workers may examine my evidence and satisfy themselves about the validity of my conclusions as limited by the evidence at my disposal."

From the bibliography of his papers, one can easily list those relating to the date of a particular author or his works.

How did Gode succeed in this complicated task? He evolved a method, which Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar of the Poona University has rightly called the Gode method.

When a particular author's name became known or was found mentioned somewhere, PKG used to note down the entry. The related entries about the author, his MSS or the period of the entries were noted down carefully and when a sufficiently large number of entries had been collected, they were tabulated. From the known items to the unknown was then a question of surmise and argument. PKG was a sort of a complete angler on the shores of antiquity, sitting patiently and watching for a small catch here or a big one there in his vast net of knotty problems cast over the known field of learning. He maintained what may be called "problem files" and went on adding to each, the material as it came to him, noting carefully the source and the date.

PKG thus could fix the two limits, before and after which the author must have lived. These two points being firmly established, further research was

needed to locate the correct date. If by subsequent researches, the previous limits had to be changed, PKG did not hesitate to do so; he was open to correction at any time and was prepared to listen to any one who would give him fresh, reliable evidence. Mere views also were valuable if they were expressed by savants like Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane; or Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi and others. It is this attitude of welcoming fresh light any time from any one that was the most pleasing part of PKG. For a research worker this is the right type of attitude to develop.

For inviting co-operation in his research, PKG followed a simple method. He used to post copies of off-prints of his papers to many scholars in India and abroad. When the off-prints were received in many quarters of the globe, busy heads offered some opinion; suggested some detailed search in a particular direction; or threw light from the sources known to themselves, and perhaps unavailable to PKG in India.

Such world wide co-operation was sought from all by PKG, who spent quite a fortune in posting off-prints of his papers.

And what a world of learning was open to him! We find letters coming to him from Europe, from the U.S.A., from Canada, and from South America. In India of course there were many who greatly admired the patient work and wide outlook with which he collected suitable information. Whenever any special point emerged out of the correspondence, PKG used to mention it freely, liberally and gratefully. The entire attitude was: "This much I have been able to gather; will you please add to it what you know? Or will you please say where to enquire for further light? The task is just begun. It has to be completed

by all of us, each contributing according to his capacity."

How PKG secured co-operation from others and how he acknowledged all such help without any reservation is best seen in the papers on *Nut Crackers,* out of the 11 on *Tambula.* There the history is traced from A.D. 1300 onward upto 1800 and information supplied by the following scholars is mentioned:

1 Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, Bombay
2 Prof. K. K. Handiqui, Jorhat
3 M. P. Wali, Belgaum
4 Prof. B. D. Varma, Poona
5 Miss Karpeles, Hanoi, French Indo-China
6 Dr. Siddheshwar Verma, Nagpur
7 Dr. Vasudeo Sharan Agrawala, Banaras.

It was by this co-operative effort that reference to the nut-cracker (or its synonym) was found in the *Patanjala Mahabhashya,* taking the date of earliest reference to 150 B.C.

As a specimen of how PKG used to treat his literary problems, we take the case of Jagaddhara. One of his compositions is *Sangitasarvasva.*

One Raghava Bhatta quotes profusely from *Sangitsarvasva.*

Raghava Bhatta's date is already fixed as between A.D. 1475-1500.

So one terminus of Jagaddhara's date is 1475.

Jagaddhara in his commentary on *Malatimadhava* quotes a lexicon called *Vishva* or *Vishvaprakasha.*

The date of *Vishvaprakasha* is A.D. 1111.

One MS of the commentary by Jagaddhara on *Malatimadhava* bears the date A.D. 1665,

Another mention in the same commentary is about *Harihara's* commentary.

Harihar has been given the date as between A.D. 1150 and 1216.

Harihar quotes from Mammata;

Mammata is assigned to A.D. 1100.

Therefore Jagaddhara flourished definitely after A.D. 1250.

Tabulating the findings, PKG states :

Sure limits	:	1250 and 1650
Probable limits	:	1250 and 1450
Tentative limits	:	1300 and 1400.

Later evidence only confirmed the probable limits. A Nepal MS of a commentary by Jagaddhara bears the date A.D. 1473.

Another instance explains the Gode method—

Pundit Vasudeva had written a commentary on *Vasavadatta* of Subandhu. In fixing the date of that commentary the following facts were helpful :—

In his commentary, Vasudeva had cited many authors and their works; among them *Sahitya Darpana, Medini* and *Raya Mukuta Vyakhyana* were important.

Raya Mukuta Vyakhyana is on the *Amarakosha* and of known date.

—This is one terminue of the date of Vasudeva= A.D. 1431.

Medini (about A.D. 1200—1275) *Sahitya Darpana* (1300-50)—are in harmony with the date of *Raya Mukuta Vyakhyana.* In the text of the commentary, there is a quotation from Devanatha, father

of Vasudeva, author of *Rasamuktavali*. There is another mention somewhere of —

Devanatha Misra, Guru of Chudamani Misra.

Devanatha Misra had composed *Rasavidya*.

From these facts it is possible that —

Devanatha, father of Vasudeva is the same as Devanatha Misra, Guru of Chudamani Misra.

Devanatha, Vasudeva and Chudamani Misra were contemporaries.

Then the relative chronology of their works would be =

Rasamuktavali is earlier than *Bhuvanchandrika* of Vasudeva;

„ „ „ *Rasakamadhenu* of Chudamani Misra.

As *Rasakamadhenu* of Chudamani Misra is later than 1500 A.D. the dates of the other two—*Rasamuktavali* and *Bhuvanachandrika*, get shited to a period later than 1500 A.D. Another MS *Rasamuktavali* is dated A.D. 1672. If this is identical with *Rasamuktavali* of Devanatha, Chudamani Misra and Vasudeva (son of Devanatha) all flourished between 1500 and 1672 A.D.

A MS called *Rasaratnapradeepa* is mentioned in *Rasakamadhenu*;

Rasaratnapradeep is by Ramaraja (about 1475 A.D.).

If the two *Rasaratnapradeepas* are the same, the date of the earlier limit (tentatively fixed) of *Rasakamadhenu* as 1500 is corroborated.

Such papers must be read in the original to appreciate their full import. The wide range of their author's vision can be realised only if they are studied first hand.

The method of determining the period by first fixing the two limits, was later followed by PKG while tracing the beginnings of new things in Indian life.

We have become so accustomed to certain things in our life that we fail to notice the research problems hitting us almost in the face daily. Has any one of us thought when *Jilebi*, the sweet and almost universal dish in India, was introduced in this country? Who brought it here? Or when, the popular *chana* that we chew, that grain that we share with the horse, first came to India? Going deeper, the origin of *Tambula*, the all-pervading *pan* in India, the equally popular Tobacco, Tea....? Such common articles engaged the attention of the clever researcher. PKG could find documentary evidence to show when *Chana* or *Tambula* was first mentioned in Indian literature.

It is a general belief that Cosmetics in our life are only a modern, post-British innovation, little realising that the ancient Pundits had made a far closer study of toilet preparations and their manufacture. PKG has produced convincing evidence to show that *hair-dyes* were in vogue in India for over 1800 years now. The Bower MSS, for instance, have 11 recipes for preparing *Kesharagas* (= hair dyes) and according to the editor of the Bower MSS, PKG assigns this composition to about 2nd century A.D.

In the search of cosmetics, PKG came to narrate the history of flowers, of rose in particular. One finds the history of that most popular flower equally attractive. The facts as presented by him are amazing! From the *Ain-i-Akbari*, 46 varieties of flowers are listed

and history of the garden rose, traced, from 2200 B.C. For the origin of glass and glass bangles, PKG reaches the 4th century A.D. and takes us to Arabia, Persia and to China in pursuit. He poses for himself the question : when was stirrup in Indian and foreign horsemanship first used and sets to answer it : by 852 B.C. Fried grain in Indian diet, recorded to have been in use since 500 B.C., is another piece of information he found out. Rope manufacture in India was known by 300 B.C. Twenty or twenty four varieties of horses, with their distinct colour have been listed by PKG from old books. From a sublime imagery reference to writing materials in the *Mahimna stotra,* PKG was tempted to find out its age : he concludes that the stanza is at least 350 years old. About the enchanting nose-ring (नथ) of Indian ladies, PKG found reference to it upto A.D. 1000 only, although it was traced to the *Old Testament* by a brother research student. Kite-flying which is a pastime of the rich and poor alike, attracted PKG also. He has provided its fascinating history.

This is how PKG's researches cover a wide field. One good search led him to another and fresh links were thus being added to his continuous chain. On *Tambula,* he could have 11 papers, on fire-arms and fireworks 6; on cosmetics 12,....and so on. Like an industrious bee PKG gathered honey from flowers everywhere—at home and abroad.

A typical product history in which PKG engaged himself will be useful in demonstrating the method he followed successfully. In tracing the history of *Badam,* almond, PKG found that its earliest recorded evidence was about A.D. 100. Almost all the books on Indian medicine, like the texts of *Charaka, Sushruta* and *Vagbhata* mention it. The dates of the eminent authorities fixed by Hoernle had to be rejected and

the reasons for such rejection given. The controversy whether *Ashtangahridaya* and *Ashtangasangraha* were by different authors or by the same author had to be decided....For these discussions, PKG prefers some accepted authority and on the strength of that authority's conclusion, forges ahead with his argument. Here for the antiquity of almond, he searched Charaka, Sushruta, Vagbhata, Dallana, Chakrapanidatta...and others, (the last two being commentators). Charaka and Sushruta are assigned to the first century of the Christian Era and therefore PKG concludes that almond is known in India from about A.D. 100. Incidentally. he has traced how the almond went to Europe, when it was first mentioned by Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79). The most attractive and scholarly part of the search of *Badam* is however the list of words in 8-9 languages of Asia.

For the use of mosquito net, PKG's chronology shows what vast and varied reading must have gone in getting the references :

about 500 B.C.—Herodotus (b. 484 B.C.) mentions use of mosquito-nets by the Egyptians.

about 250 B.C.—*Chullavagga* of *Vinayapitaka* mentions *mashak-kutika* allowed by the Buddha to Bhikkus.

about 425 A.D.—Buddhaghosha in his commentary on *Chullavagga* explains the meaning of *mashak-kutika.*

Vaijayanti (c.1050 A.D.); *Vishva Kosha* (1111 A.D.); *Ajaya Kosha* (c.1140) *Nanartharnava sankshepa* (bet. 1150-1300); *Medini* (c.1250); *Vishvalochana Kosha* (1200-1400) all these dictionaries mention the *chatuski* and *mashakahari.*

It is the earliest mention that is more important—as a starting point of further research. Who ever

thought the mosquito-net could be so old? For *Chana* (अश्वखाद्य as some people call it), the authorities quoted are :

Bhela samhita.
Kashyapa samhita
Natya Shastra—of Bharata—(200 BC to 300 AD)
Charaka samhita
Sushruta
Guhyasamaja Tantra
Brihat samhita of Varahamihir—(500 AD)
Gatha saptashati
Pancha tantra
Thananga sutta (Jaina)
Amara Kosha
Ashtanga sangraha—Vagbhata
Kuttanimata—Damodar Gupta
Dhanvantari Nighantu
Agnipurana
Ashva Chikitchha
Hastyayurveda
Vaijayanti lexicon (Yadavaprakasha)
Mitakshara (Vijnaneshwara)
Deshinamamala (Hemachandra)
Lila Charitra (Marathi) (1250 AD)
Shukranitisara
Sharngadhara samhita
Raja nighantu
Hobson Jobson

Similarly for *Jowar,* a long list of references is provided, thus showing what tremendous work was involved in the search for reference from a variety of authorities. Its recorded history is taken to 2200 B.C.

From among the many beliefs associated with *Tambula,* an interesting table has been provided by PKG which tells the number of leaves in a *beeda* denoting the office and position of the receiver :

A *beeda* with 32 leaves is fit for the king;

24	„	for a tributary prince;
18	„	for the son-in-law;
only 12	„	for a learned man;
10	„	for a bride;
8	„	for all respectable persons;
4	„	for ordinary persons;
and 6	„	*for the enemy.*

Topics on *Tambula,* covered in all the 11 papers may be summarised as follows :

A study of its use—outside India; in *Asura* type of marriage; in *pitriyajna;* by a householder; antiquity of the use of *Chunam* and *Catechu;* beliefs about the ingredients in; customs associated with; date of introduction into India; etymology of; *No* ref. to in the *Grihyasutras;* persons prohibited from its use; qualities of, acc: to Varahamihir; ref. to in Indian inscriptions; in *Kashyapasamhita*; story about origin of; 13 qualities of; romance of the use of acc: to Panzer.

PKG's method of citing evidence was such that it was difficult to refute it. In the manner of presentation, he never over-stepped moderation. Whatever was seen through the available evidence was stated without exaggeration. If at all he erred, it was on the side of under-statement. He never went beyond what the evidence showed. This desire to tell the bare truth, nothing but the truth, was indeed his most impressive characteristic.

Another aspect of PKG's research was that he considered only written/printed word as admissible evidence. He had tried to fix the two limits for the *Ashvamedha* Sacrifice performed at Jaipur and his

estimate was that it must have been performed between 1699 and 1744 A.D. These were very broad limits no doubt but for starting research, they were adequate. In one of my trips to Jaipur I happened to hear about the *Ashvamedha* from so many people. It was common knowledge there that the *Ashvamedha* was performed and the site too was frequently visited by the local population. The event was so great and of such an importance that its memory was quite green. Although the date of the event was well known in Jaipur, to convince PKG about it was a problem. He would not accept any oral evidence; at the most he was prepared to say in a footnote that such and such information came to him from so and so. He wanted recorded evidence. I produced a Hindi history of Jaipur in support of my information. But to PKG's strict vigilance, that was not acceptable. He enquired about the author, his standing in the world of learning before placing faith in his evidence. I narrated to him the conversation between the *Raj Purohit* of Jaipur and myself. It was an interesting angle that the pundit took. He said if the two limits were known to your research scholar from Poona, it was easy to fix the actual date. The most auspicious day, *(muhurt)* between the two limits, must be taken as the date of the *Ashvamedha Yajna*. For, such a *Yajna* would not be performed on any day. The astrologers must have searched and searched for the most favourable time. PKG being no astrologer, could not appreciate the view of the court *Jyotishi*, who had with him the *Patrikas* (horoscopes) of all members of the royal household. He also showed me some records of the visit of the Peshwa's mother Kashibai to Banares and the expenses the Jaipur Darbar had incurred for her pilgrimage. All this I told PKG to convince him that the *Raj Jyotishi* was not just an astrologer; he was historically minded also and he knew what he was talk-

ing about. Even the statement of such an authority was not acceptable to PKG. So strict he was in accepting the evidence for his research.

First-hand observation of many regions and many peoples, was denied to PKG. In fact, it would be truer to say that he had taken a vow not to stir out of Poona. (The vow was so rigidly followed that he did not attend even his son's wedding in Bombay). Such a singular devotion for the cause of research or for the study undertaken is rare. The diversions to the traveller are many and varied and although he gains much by way of observation and personal contact with scholars, valuable time is lost, and continuity of thought broken. When he was elected sectional president of the *All India Oriental Conference*,* his address was prepared and sent to the President. He did not attend any gatherings of the learned, unless they were held in Poona. To say that PKG would have benefitted immensely by personal contact in and outside India, would not be correct. His health, which had to be maintained with strict diet and by other controls, would have broken down, had he moved out of his home. That was one of the reasons for remaining glued to Poona. But whatever be the possible advantages of travel and personal contacts, this much is certain that confining himself to Poona, resisting all temptations, helped PKG to acquire that concentration for which he became so noted. It also goaded him to search for more resources by confining himself to books and libraries and by correspondence with scholars in and outside India.

It was customary for PKG to quote his authorities in full so that any one who wanted to start on the

* Darbhanga Session 1948; Technical Arts and Sciences and Fine Arts Section.

same journey by oneself, had not to search for anything. The author, the book, its edition and the page were stated without any reserve. The path of the newcomer was thus well prepared.

In looking for authoritative evidence useful for a chronological study, PKG used to consult certain books as almost his first step. For reference in English the most valuable dictionary was *Hobson Jobson*. It is a unique compilation of Anglo-Indian words and it contains words from India and adjoining lands that have found their way into the English language. The important aspect of *Hobson Jobson* is that it cites books with the year of publication in which the word has appeared. As such, *Hobson Jobson's* utility cannot be adequately expressed.

On the Indian side, for references in Sanskrit PKG used to consult the Vedic, Epic and allied word-indexes for mention of the product, the history of which he was tracing. *Arthashastra, Kama Sutras,* and similar cyclopaedic treatises were carefully taken up next for scanning.

For *Tambula,* for cosmetics and perfumes, Vatsyayana was very useful. For the introduction of Rice, Jwari, Chana..Vedic literature and particularly the *Grihya Sutras* were helpful. In the ceremonial performance of certain rites, the grains used or those that are not to be used are mentioned. The *Rudra Adhyaya* of *Yajurveda,* for example contains a good list of grains, metals and building materials. There are some similar books which contain a mine of information of the times to which they belong. Asoka's edicts, though very brief in character and extent, have given evidence of hospitals for men and animals started by that great ruler. The *Jataka Kathas* likewise

are a storehouse of many social customs, of list of articles in use, in the life of those whose story they narrate.

For a later period, PKG depended to a great extent on the Travel literature. When a foreigner notes down what strange things he sees in the land he visits, that is a good and reliable evidence. The traveller's date is known and so it is a documented material. For India, we have a wonderful galaxy of travellers: Chinese, Europeans, Persians, Arabs and others. The diplomat Megasthenes may also be taken to be a traveller. The Chinese pilgrims who came to India have left some very striking records. All that material is valuable for reconstructing social history. That is why Sir Jadunath Sarkar maintained an almost complete library of the books by such travellers. From the indexes to Gode's volumes, one can have an idea of what books on Travels he has been consulting. Barbosa, Batuta, Benxoni, Bernier, Buchanan, Carreri, Fa Hein, Fryer, Hiuan Stang, I-tsing, Manucci, Mahaun, Marco Polo, Tavernier....the list is quite impressive!

That however is only one set of books PKG always consulted. He had the other set of books on Histories also. They were again not the political Histories generally, although they were not ruled out. Most of the histories were of the unusual type. There is a *History of the Bible Plants;* of Plant sciences. *Histories of Dharmashastra,* of Sanskrit literature, of Indian astronomy, of Hindu medicine....all these had to be consulted. And his notes bear proof of how carefully he read them, how minutely he picked up whatever he wanted from them.

In addition, there were the dictionaries. The Sanskrit dictionaries like the *Amarkosha, Medini Kosha, Rajavyavahar Kosha,* the *Nighantus* and *Kalpadrumas*

were of course there. But the *Dictionary of Dates*, of *Economic Products of India*, and of commercial terms, figure largely in his list of books quoted from. Of cyclopaedias likewise there were many varieties. A *Cyclopaedia of Perfumery, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and *Encyclopaedia Italiana* (like the *Brittanica, Americana)* are all mentioned by him. These instances are adequate to form an idea of what great effort, what varied search, went into every paper, howsoever short, that PKG wrote. Search, constant search, greater search....unending search.. was his habit. His strongest point was of course the chronology.

In all his 474 papers, PKG seems to have miscalculated only once so far, on the strength of evidence, now available to us. There are three papers in PKG's list, Nos. 79, 172 and 175. They are about Hari Kavi who completed his *Shambhuraj Charitam* in 1685. The difference of opinion between scholars is about the identity of *Shambhuraj*. As far as I know, this is the single case where PKG's findings are not accepted by all. While the majority sides with PKG in this respect, there is a small minority which holds a different view. Shambhuraj has been identified by PKG as Chhatrapati Sambhaji, son of Chhatrapati Shivaji. The minority holds that the Desai family of Nandurbar in Khandesh had names of Shambhuraj and Shivaraj contemporary with the Chhatrapatis. Hence this confusion. A single instance like that only proves the truth of the ancient proverb; to err is human. Such dubious identification of Shambhuraj has created further confusion. Depending on PKG, another research worker in Maratha history has given away to Chhatrapati Sambhaji, Champa—a queen, whom Desais of Nandurbar prove, from their records, to have been given in their family.

PKG was uncommon in many respects. Not only did he not stir out of Poona for many years but he did not even think of changing his sphere of work having once entered B.O.R.I. During his life-time, many editions of the list of his writings—*Bibliography of his Published Writings,* were published. The first edition, with 166 papers came out in 1939 and the second followed in quick succession after two years with an addition of about 40 papers. In the third edition published in 1947, the number of papers was 336. The *Gode Commemoration Volume,* published in 1960, contains what may be called the fourth and the last edition of his *Bibliography,* with 474 papers. The necessity that was felt by the world at large of possessing copies of such lists of writings, is in itself a proof of the importance of Gode's research. There were scholars and professors, in India and outside, who have written appreciatively about his work, about the importance of the researches and the need for the *Bibliography* as a constant book of reference. This work of Gode brought honour, not only to himself and the B.O.R.I, where he worked; but to Indian scholarship also.

His passion for research and exact knowledge was appreciated by other scholars. F. W. Thomas asserted that "what Gode's original learning brings to light, is permanently reliable". The great Italian Indologist, Dr. Carpani thought Gode's contribution to Indian Chronology as epoch making. Another Italian Indologist, equally authoritative, thought Dr. Gode had written a whole library !

Such appreciation must have encouraged PKG to work more. His correspondence was voluminous and he sat late till midnight to dispose of the day's mail. He never delayed attending to correspondence. I once asked him some references about the introduction of

iron into India, according to Sanskrit sources, and I was surprised when a few typed pages came to me quite promptly. How I wish that we all were so prompt and so obliging to enquiring minds.

Among the many students inspired by PKG, is Shri G. G. Joshi from Nagpur. From PKG's letters the following 9 commandments for research students have been hand-picked as "gems of advice presented to me by my Guru"—that is how Shri Joshi puts it.

NINE COMMANDMENTS

(1) The mental attitude of the research worker towards his work should be like that of a devotee towards his God.

(2) Research should be pursued for its own sake. It should be born of one's own urge and pursued without an eye to profit.

(3) Research work is nothing but *nishkam karma* of the *Gita*.

(4) Too much social life is detrimental to research. Friends are thieves of Time and Time is more valuable to a student of research than money.

(5) Your daily programme of life will decide your career of a life-time. Never forget to devote some time to research in your *dinacharya* (=daily round of duties).

(6) Treat your friends cordially when they come to you by keeping aside your research work; but do not run after visits and return visits in social life.

(7) You must build up a research career of your own and every year produce some research of a durable type. Avoid writing journalistic articles. Problems tackled should be real ones and not hypothetical.

(8) Insight in a subject is developed by continuous study. There should be a complete identity of the research worker with his subject.

(9) At the end of a life-time the research worker will be able to look to his past life with pride and satisfaction if he sticks to his ideal *Abhyasa.*

Researches which PKG carried out, have a special advantage. They inspired in others a similar effort. In fact, many correspondents who wrote to PKG, could pass on to him bits of knowledge or personal information to make a complete research on a particular topic. To stimulate such thinking among a wide circle of students all over the world is indeed a great service. That PKG did, in a far greater degree than any one else of his time. Witness for instance the admission by Dr. Randle of the Indian Office Library. He says that he was thinking for six long years on one particular question (mention of Betel in Greek literature) which PKG had asked him. And the greater surprise is that the information asked for was supplied after that long period.

Throughout his career, PKG acted as if he was inspired to do some thing. There was no rest; no change of climate, no relaxation for him. The key to incessant work is found in the motto he had chosen for himself from the *Yogavasistha : 67, Verse* 32

> *Fortunes may become fruitless; but study, never !*

He was so enamoured of his self-imposed task that he often quoted another verse from the same source :

> *He is the meanest wretch, who abandons the pursuit of his ideal.*

Hence, PKG, stuck to the last to his work, amongst books and files and dictionaries. When the doctor was taking him to the hospital, which turned out to be his last journey, he was quite sure of his return within a short time to resume his pursuit of his ideal—his never failing *abhayasa*! But destiny willed otherwise and he was snatched away all of a sudden. He died in full harness as they say.

PKG then, throughout his life time achieved one wonderful result: he made silent authors and their works, disclose their age; found out to what period they belonged. He even made friends with plants and ornaments, foods and gunpowder; with the horse and the bullock cart, to draw out from them, their beginnings in India and the world. Such a gifted scholar, is an asset to any country. True to a Sanskrit saying, unlike the king, he was honoured every where. Many countries bestowed honours on him, although no Indian University thought it fit to consider itself respected by honouring PKG and appreciating his services to Indian scholarship. In addition to discharging his own duty and contributing to the study of Indology, PKG has by his own example made many students research-minded; he has stimulated a sense of research and awareness of chronology amongst many and started an all-round sympathetic activity. Historians of Sanskrit literature in particular and those of social history of India, will consider PKG as their single biggest *Sahukar*. In following the work begun by him and carrying further the torch of knowledge, we would only be repaying the great debt we all owe to PKG.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SELECT WRITINGS

Sir J. N. Sarkar

1 *India of Aurangzib : Topography Statistics and Records* — 1901

2 *Economics of British India*

1st Edn. — 1909
2nd Edn.
3rd Edn. — 1913

3 *History of Aurangzib*

Vol : I — July 1912
II — July 1912
III —
IV — Nov. 1924
V — Dec. 1924

4 *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*

1st Edn. — Nov. 1912
2nd Edn. — 1925
3rd Edn. — 1949
4th Edn. — 1963

5 *Chaitanya :*
His Pilgrimage & Teachings — 1913
(Chaitanya's Life & Teachings) — 1922

6 *Shivaji and His Times*
1st Edn. — April 1919
2nd „ — June 1920
3rd „ — Dec. 1928
4th „ — Feb. 1948
5th „ — Dec. 1952
6th „ — Feb. 1961

7 *Studies in Mughal India* — Oct. 1922

8 *Mughal Administration*
1st series (Calcutta) — 1920
2nd „ (Patna) — 1925
Combined Volume — 1925
3rd Edn. — 1935
4th „ — 1952
5th „ — 1963

9 *Later Mughals* Vols. I & II
(W. Irvine's incomplete work Ed.
and completed by JNS) — 1922

10 *India Through the Ages*
1st Edn. — 1928
2nd „ — 1944
3rd „ — 1950
4th „ — 1951
5th „ — 1960

11 *Short History of Aurangzib*

1st Edn.	—	1930
2nd „	—	1954
3rd „	—	1962

12 *Bihar & Orissa during the Fall of the Mughal Empire* — 1932

13 *Fall of the Mughal Empire*

Vol : I	— (1739-1754)	—	1932
II	— (1754-1771)	—	1934
III	— (1771-1788)	—	1938
IV	— (1788-1803)	—	1950

14 *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign* — 1933

15 *House of Shivaji*

1st Edn.	May	—	1940
2nd „	May	—	1948
3rd „	April	—	1955

16 *Military History of India* — 1960

17 *History of the Dasnami Sect* (English and Hindi)

18 English Translations from Persian :

(i) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* — 1947

(ii) *Poona Letters from Delhi*

(iii) *Mahadji Sindhia as Regent of Delhi*

Dr. G. S. Sardesai

1 *Musalmani Riyasat*

Part I (upto 1526),

Part II (1526-1803)

1st Edn.	—	1898
2nd „	—	1910
3rd „	—	1927
4th „	—	1958-59

2 *Marathi Riyasat*

Purva Vibhag (upto 1707)

1st Edn.	—	1901
2nd „	—	1915

Madhya Vibhag :

1 — (1707-40)		
2 — (1740-50)	1st Edn.	1920-21
	2nd Edn.	1925
3 — (1750-61)		
4 — 1761-74)	1st Edn.	1925

Uttar Vibhag :

1 — (1774-83)		
	1st Edn.	1929
2 — (1783-95)		
3 — (1795-1948)	1st Edn.	1932

New Edition of *Marathi Riyasat*

1	*Shahji Raje*	—	1935
2	*Shakakarta Shivaji*	—	1935
3	*Ugraprakriti Sambhaji*	—	1935

4 *Sthirbuddhi Rajaram* — 1936

5 *Punya-shloka Shahu* —

(i) *Balaji Vishwanath* — 1942

(ii) *Baji Rao* — 1942

(iii) *Balaji Rao — I* — 1944

(iv) *Peshwa Balaji Rao II* — 1953

6 *Rama Raja*

(i) *Nigrahak Madhav Rao* — 1954

(ii) *Narayan Rao and Raghunath Rao* — 1958

Main Currents of Maratha History

1st Edn. — 1926

2nd „ — 1933

3rd „ — 1949

A New History of the Marathas

Vol. 1 (1600-1707) 1st Edn. — 1946

2nd reprint — 1957

2 (1707-1772) 1st Edn. — 1948

2nd reprint — 1958

3 (1772-1848) 1st Edn. — 1948

2nd reprint — 1958

Edited :

45 Vols. *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*
Total documents — 8650 1930-34

Historical Papers : Mahadji Sindia — 1937

Poona Residency Records :—

Vols. 2, 6, 7, 12-13

Shivaji Souvenir (multi-lingual) — 1927

Dr. P. K. Gode

Studies in Indian Literary History

Vol. I — Bombay — 1953
Vol. II — Bombay — 1954
Vol. III — Poona — 1956

Studies in Indian Cultural History

Vol. I — Hoshiarpur — 1961
Vol. II — Poona — 1960
Vol. III — Poona — 1956

Edited : Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona)

Vol. 12 —
Vol 13 — Part 1 — 1940
2 — 1942
3 — 1950

Vol. 14 — 1937

240 MSS of *Natya*
794 MSS of *Kavya*
1313 MSS of *Stotra*

INDEX

Ahalyabai Holkar, 39
Ain-i-Akbari, 58
Ashvamedha at Jaipur, 62-3
Bakhars, 19, 20, 45
— 91 *Qalmi*, 14-5
— Sabhasad, 14-5
Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala (Mandal), 39-40
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Instt., (BORI), 50-1; 68
Bower MSS., 58
Calendars, 11-3
Chronology, 10-3; 20; 52; 60; 68; 71
Corroboration, 13-20
Cyclopaedias, 66-7
Deodhar G. K., 5
Dictionaries, 66-7
GSS=Sardesai G. S.
Gaekwar, Sayaji Rao (Maharaja), 32-4; 37; 42
Gautami Satakarni, 26
Gode method (explained), 53-60
— of fixing author's period, 55-7
— product histories, 59-60
— seeking co-operation, 54
Gode P. K. (= PKG), 50-71
— approach of, 53-5
— at BORI, 50-1; 71
— bibliography of, 53; 68
— books consulted by, 65-67
— cataloguing of MSS, 51-2
— citation of authorities, 65
— editorial work of, 51
— goaded to research, 52-3
— method of, 53-4
— motto of, 70-1
— nine commandments of, 69
— papers by, 54; 67-8
— problem files of, 53
— Sectional Presi. AIOC, 64
— on *Ashvamedha*, 62-3
— chronology, 52
— methods, 69-70
— product histories, 58-62
Half Anjuman, 15-6; 20
Hobson-Jobson, 61, 65
Jedhe *Shakavali*, 14; 18
Jomini, De, 3
Joshi G. G., 69
JNS=Sarkar Jadunath
Kane P. V., 51; 54
Mirashi V. V., 54
Names, 6-10
— Indianisation of, 9-10
— of forts, 7
— persons, 8-10
— places, 6-8
Nine commandments, 69
Pissurlencar P., 21
Poona Residency Correspondence, =(PRC), 27; 34
Potdar D. V., 53
Raghubir Sinh, 29-30
Sardesai G. S. (GSS), 5, 6, 20-1; 26, 29-40
— birth, 31
— reader to Gaekwar, 32
— Ed. SPD, 34
— Gen. Ed. PRC, 34
— *Riyasats* of, 31-8
— differences with Mandal, 39, 40, 42-4; 46
— friendship with JNS, 5; 38-9; 46-9
— on Ahalyabai Holkar, 39
Sarkar Jadunath (JNS), 1-31; 34-5; 37-49; 66
— influenced by Jomini, 3

— friendship with GSS, 5; 38-9; 46-9
— differences with Mandal, 39, 40; 42-4; 46
— Gen. Ed. PRC, 34
— Knowledge of Marathi of, 21-22
— Knowledge of wars, 2-3
— Vice-Chancellor, 28
— on Ahalyabai Holkar, 39
— — Aurangzeb, 3-4
— — Bakhars, 19-20; 45
— — Marathas, 23-4
— —Shivaji, 22, 44
— — historian's function, 26
— — method of presentation, 27-8
Selections from Peshwa Daftar (SPD), 12, 27, 34, 40-44, 47
Shivaji and His Times, 1, 2, 5, 6, 13-7
Shivaji (Chhatrapati), 10-9; 22-4; 26-7; 30; 34, 38, 44, 67
Shivaji's escape from Agra, 15, 17, 19
— son Shambhuji, 67
Tambula (betel nut & leaves), 55, 58-9, 61, 65
— in Greek Literature, 70
— no. of leaves in, 62
— papers about, 62
travel literature, 66
travellers to India, 66.

00196935

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 11 March, 2020